

inder'd us from living Friends on Earth We now all Empty Shade and We on live in Peace through blest Eternity.

# NTERVIEWS

# Realms of Death:

### DIALOGUES of the Dead:

BETWEEN

Several GREAT PERSONAGES deceas'd. Wherein they rehearse to each other the History of their Life and Times, and the Springs of their Politicks and Conduct.

So that the whole Performance is a good History of all EUROPE for many Years backward; and each Interview concludes with their Political Reflections on the present News, supposed to be brought into Elysium by MERCURY from the Land of the Living, in a continued Series from the Year 1718. when the first Interview was publish'd.

INTERVIEW

BETWEEN

LEOPOLD the Roman EMPEROR,

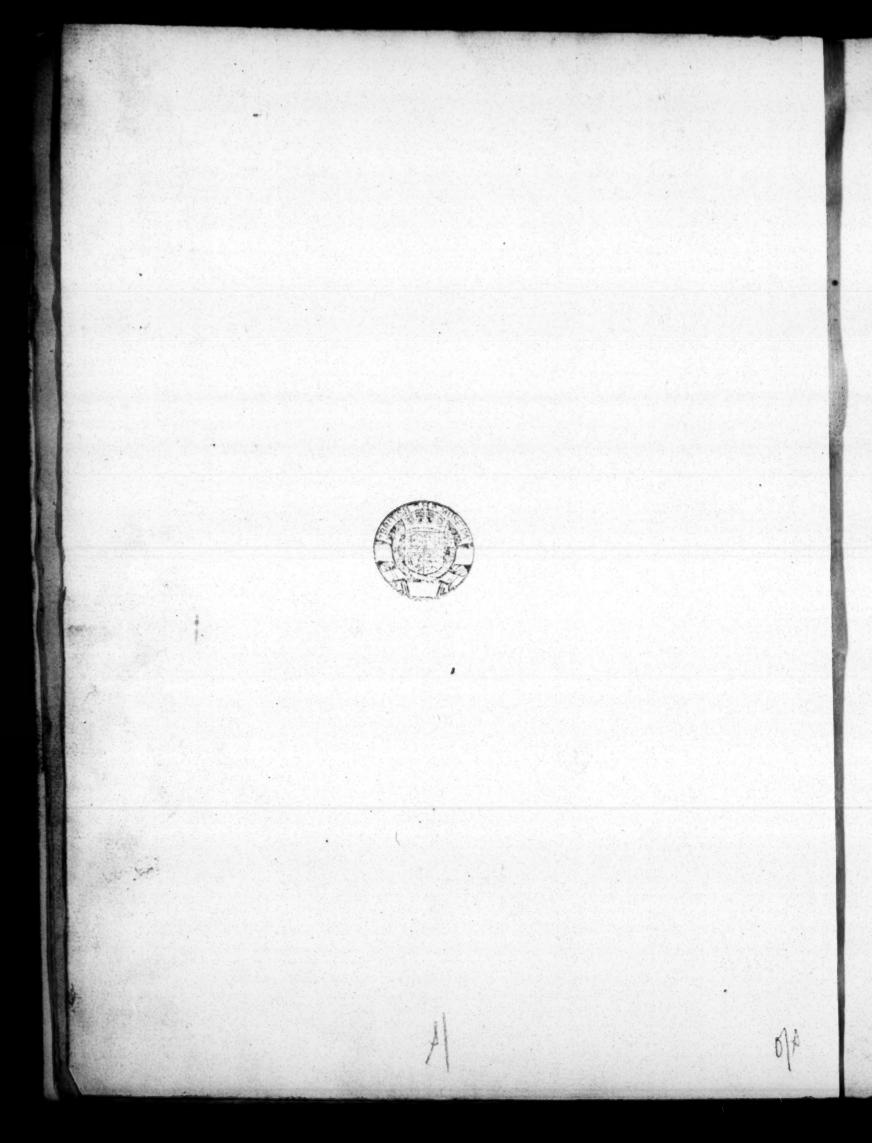
AND

LEWIS XIV. King of FRANCE.

To be continu'd Monthly.

Written originally in Digh-Dutch.

LONDON: Printed by W. Hunter, for J. HOOKE, at the Flower-de-Luce over against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street; R. FORD, at the Angel in the Poultry; and J. GRAVES, near White's Chocolate-House, St. James's. Where Subscriptions are taken in, and Receipts given. (Price Eighteen-pence.)



# 

## PREFACE.



HE ingenious and learned Author of this Work in Germany, perhaps being afraid of offending the eminent Relatives of the Deceas'd, by dealing plainly with their Characters and Conduct, and for his other private Reasons, did neither dedicate it, nor publish his Name, but only wrote a short Preface, the Substance of which is contain'd

in the Title Page of this Translation. The Royal and great Persons, that are supposed here to converse in the State of the Dead, are brought in giving each other a storid Narration of their Life, and of the most important Transactions of their Time in the Land of the Living; and when the first Party has finished his or her Narration, the other interrogates concerning what was omitted, and extorts a Confession of what was never owned in the upper Regions, but cannot be concealed in the Realms of Death. Then the other Party relates also his or her Story, and is in like manner interrogated by the first Party: After which a Packet of fresh News, supposed to be conveyed by Mercury from the upper Regions, is read by a Secretary, both Parties making their political Reflections upon each Paragraph: And at last they amicably part with mutual Offers of Friendship, much regretting their Variance or Enmity (if any) in the Land of the Living, and protesting how handsomly they would behave themselves to each

each other, were they again to live upon Earth. So that this Work contains not only the compendious History of former Times, but even a Continuation of the News and present State of Europe, beginning Anno 1718. when the first Interview was publish'd; and the News being accurately continu'd in a certain Series, according to the Order of the Interviews, or as they were monthly publish'd in Germany, the Translator cannot alter it, but must publish them in English in the same Order, which the Subscribers also may observe in binding them, because of the said Series of News and political Resections.

This excellent Work is not performed in a comical and ludicrous manner, nor by way of Fable, nor intended only for the Instruction of Pupils, or the Diversion of idle People and Children, like some little trisling Books lately publish'd in France and England; but with great Judgment the Author solidly affords the true and genuine History of the Deceas'd, taken not only from printed historical Books and publick Documents, but likewise from such Manuscripts, private Letters, secret Memoirs, and traditional Accounts, as came to his Hand by a general Acquaintance, and by a Correspondence with such Persons as could best send him the said Accounts. In each Dialogue both the good and bad Actions, the wife and foolish Conduct of the Parties are fairly represented by themselves, without using wicked, scurrilous, or indecent Expressions, and ill Manners; without quarrelling, or filly jangling, but peaceably converfing according to their high Birth and Quality; 'yet freely, and, as much as possible, according to their former Manner while they liv'd upon Earth; so that the Author. discovers himself to be well acquainted with their Peculiarities, and their fecret History. If he has exposed the Failings and Blemishes of the Deceas'd, he has not omitted their Virtues and Excellencies, but has performed as became a faithful and candid Historian, that deals equally in Satire and Panegyrick: He relates the divers Turns and Views of great PARTIES in the several Countries of Europe, as a disengaged Onlooker, not concern'd in

### PREFACE.

the Game, nor attached to either Side. He chose this Method rather than the common dry way of writing History, for several obvious Reasons; especially that he might both divert and instruct at the same time: And when all the Interviews are printed, it will be generally own'd that his Design is well perform'd, his Scope large and beautiful, and the Work most agrecable and useful, and worthy of the Perusal of all sorts of Persons; not only of the Beau Monde, and of the younger sort, both Male and Female, of the rich, and of the ordinary People, but even of the grave and learned, who are curious to know the Truth of certain Transactions, and of the first Rank of Mankind too, with their Statesmen and Politicians; because it points out the Excellencies of the Deceas'd, and their Mistakes, that such as move in high Spheres may be excited to imitate the one, and may be duly warned against the other.

This first Interview between Leopold and Lewis will speak for itself, and give the Reader a small Tast of the whole Work, tho' it is not comparable to most of the succeeding Interviews, because the Author's Genius improves: But if any remarkable thing is omitted in one Interview, the Author has inserted it in another more pertinently; and there will be no Ground of Censure for any material Omissions, when the whole is published and perus'd.

Some Persons of Quality and Learning, that have perused this sirst Interview before it was printed, have well approved of the Author's Intention and Personmance, have readily encouraged this Translation, and recommended it to others, whose Names and Designations are to be printed at the end of the Nineteenth Interview, as the Encouragers of this Work, who have made the Translator begin with some Hopes of good Success. If there had been a sufficient Number of Subscribers, no more had been printed but what were subscribed for: But many wanted to see the first Interview abroad before they would subscribe, and may now have it; tho' they are much

### PREFACE

much dearer to those that buy them singly than to the Subscribers; as indeed it ought to be; because the said Subscription is the best way to encourage the Work; and the Translator humbly hopes that it will be more comply'd with after the Perusal of this first Dialogue.

### The TITLES are,

INTERVIEW Between LEOPOLD Emperor of the Romans, and LEWIS XIV. King of France. CHARLES V. Emperor of the Romans, and FRANCIS I. King of France. III. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS King of Sweden, and CHARLES I. King of Great-Britain. IV. ELIZABETH Queen of England, and CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden. V. SEXTUS V. Roman Pontiff, and JEAN BAPTISTA MOLIERE. VI. Vicomte DE TURENNE, and Madam DE LA VALIERE, Miftress to Lewis XIV. VII. Lieutenant-General John Reinhold PATKUL, and Baron George Henry GORTZ, beheaded in Sweden. VIII. PHILIP II. King of Spain, and WILLIAM I. Prince of Orange. With the Political Queftion, viz. Whether a Lady with one Eye had any Charms? HENRY VIII. King of England, and Solim AN II. Ottoman Emperor. JAMES II. King of Great-Britain, and JAMES Duke of Monmouth. XI. EDWARD III. King of England, and WILLIAM III. King of Great-Britain. XII. ANNE Queen of Great-Britain; and THOMAS Lord Marquess of W. HARTON. XIII. CHARLES II. King of Spain, and Cardinal PORTOCARRERO. XIV. Father LA CHAISE, the Confessor of Lewis XIV. XV. Prince of CONDE, and CHARLES Marquess de CREUVRON. XVI. OLIVER CROMWELL, and RICHARD bis Son. XVII. RICHBLIEU, Cardinals. AND MAZARIN, Source of Great-Britain, and beautiful Malibre.

XIX. HENRY IV. King of France, and Admiral CHATILLON.

INTERVIEW Between CLEOPATRA Queen of Egypt, and Duke DE LUXEMBOURG. XXI. The SEVEN Wife Men of Greece, and ANOTHER that affed like a Foot in the Wor XXII. Continuation of the last Interview. XXIII. Madam DE MAINTENON, SCARRON ber Husband. XXIV. Continuation of the last Interview. XXV. INNOCENT X. Roman Pontiff, and DONNA OLYMPIA bis Confin. XXVI. PHILIP III. King of Spain, and Duke D'Ossuna, Governor of Naples and Sici XXVII. Sir THOMAS MOOR Chancellor of England and GREIFFENFELD Chancellor of Denma XXVIII. VAN TRUMP the Dutch Admiral, TORDENSHILD the Danish Vice-Admin XXIX. Prince L E w 1 s of Baden, WALLENSTEIN. XXX. Continuation of the last Interview. XXXI. Earl STANHOPE, HEINSIUS the Dutch Pentionarius. XXXII. Continuation of the last Interview. XXXIII. CLEMENT XI. Roman Pontiff, and Father QUESNBL. XXXIV. Continuation of the last Interview. XXXV. ELEONORA MAGDALENA THERE Roman Empress -MARIA THERESIA Queen of Fran XXXVI. CHARLES GUSTAVUS King of Sweden, FREDERICK WILLIAM the G and Elector of Brandenburg. XXXVII. Continuation of the last Interpiew. XXXVIII. The beautiful Mon Bason in Fran Count DE CLERMONT. and

## LIN LEKYLEWS

INTHE

# Realms of Death,

OR

### ELYSIAN FIELDS.

WITH

Political Observations and Reflections on each.

### INTERVIEW I.

Between LEOPOLD late Roman EMPEROR, whose Device or Motto is Consilio & Industria;

And the late LEWIS XIV. King of France, whose Device or Motto is Nec pluribus impar.

They meet in a Ferest of Cypresses; for that Tree is an Emblem of DEACD.

LEWIS calling LEOPOLD with a French Compliment.

LEOPOLD looking afide to know who call'd him.

Mercury in the Air, delivering to a Secretary a Pacquet of the most remarkable Occurrences from the Land of the Living.

And these two Potentates, after finishing their own Story, agree to order the Pacquet to be read, and conclude with their own Resections upon the News.



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HE late most powerful Roman Emperor LEOPOLD, walking not long ago on the Banks of those charming chrystalline Streams that run in the eternal happy Fields of Elysium, was espied by the late most famous Lewis XIV. King of France, then walking there too, who knew the Emperor's grave Gate at a Distance: For the these Monarchs, while on Earth, had never a personal Interview, they

had often perused each other's Pictures drawn by the best Hands, as they had most exact Accounts of each other's Conduct and Manner from their respective

respective Envoys; whence King L E w is, retaining his old prying Humour, had no Difficulty foon to know the Emperor LEOPOLD, and had hardly feen him, when he call'd aloud in Rapture and Transport

O GRAND LEOPOLD! O GREAT LEOPOLD! Ah! qu'il plaise à vôtre Majesté de Ah! may it please your Majesty toftop here a little while! s'arrêter un petit Moment!

But the Emperor, having never lov'd the French Tongue (for at the Court of Vienna the Italian and Spanish are chiefly spoken) feign'd not to hear him, and walk'd on a little further. Which LEWIS perceiving, call'd again,

Comment est ce que votre Majesté ne me veut | Why won't your Majesty grant my de Defir de m'entretenir avec elle!

pas accorder ma Demande? ah, Je brule Request? for I burn with Defire to converse with you.

Upon which LEOPOLD looking full at LEWIS with a folemn Countenance, answered thus in High-Dutch.

Your Majesty knows very well that while on Earth I never gave Audience in French, nor allow'd my Envoys and Ministers to use that Language in publick Treaties: May it please therefore your Majesty to speak in Sclavonic, or Spanish, or Italian, or Latin, or German, if you have indeed such a vehement Desire to entertain your self with me as you express.

#### LEWIS.

Il est vray que vous avez tousjours fait paroitre cette Severité contre la Langue Françoise: Mais est ce que vous ignorez que votre fils le GRAND CHARLES, qui occupe le Throne Romain, a eu la Complaisance de permetre a ses Ambasiadeurs a Utrecht & au PRINCE EUGENE à Rastad de traiter en François?

'Tis true that you have shewn this Severity against the French Tongue: But don't you know your Son CHARLES THE GREAT, Who now possesses the Roman Throne, has had the Complaifance to give Leave to his Ambasadors at Utrecht, and to PRINCE EUGENE at Raftad. to treat in French?

#### LEOPOLD:

I was no sooner informed thereof, than I shewed my Displeasure at it; but being told it was done from no other View than to promote the common Good, I have been fatisfy'd: For your Ambassadors would have been too flow if obliged to treat in Latin, or in any other Language. But for the present I am resolved that you choose to speak in one of the said Languages, or not take it amis that I leave you-

LEWIS.

#### LEWIS.

Mais quelle de tant de Langues dois Je choisir? l'Esclavonienne m'est tout a fait inconnue, & Je me suis toujours mocqué du Latin; Il me souvient aussi d'avoir ouir dire que l'Empereur Leopold parle l'Espagnol & l'Italien en maitre, & mieux que l'Allemand même. Je vais donc prendre la Resolution de parler Allemand, s'il plait a votre Majesté.

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What Inflexibility that is! I see I must comply; but which of so many Languages must I chuse? I am wholly a Stranger to the Sclavonic, and have always made a Jest of Latin; but I remember to have heard that the Emperor Leopold spoke Spanish and Italian like a Native or Master, and better than German it self. I'm resolv'd therefore to speak German, if it please your Majesty.

#### LEOPOLD.

I did not expect that Resolution; for the French always speak Italian better than German, and would chuse it rather, complaining usually that by this last the Throat is too much over-strain'd.

#### LEWIS.

Quoi qu'il en soit, Je veux absolument | Be that as it will, I am absolutely parler Allemand. | determin'd to speak High-Dutch.

#### LEOPOLD.

I am very well pleas'd. Pray, Sir, do but begin to speak in that Language.

#### LEWIS.

Patience! Je commencerai tout a cette Pray have a little Patience, I shall presently begin; but alas, I begin to sweat!

#### LEOPOLD.

If there is no End of your French I shall leave your Majesty.

LEWIS speaking High-Dutch.

I see I must speak German! and before all other things, I first beseech your Majesty to be pleas'd to tell me how it comes that so great Contentment, Serenity and Easiness appears in your Face and Conversation?

#### LEOPOLD.

In the Upper Regions I endeavoured always to be Godly, Eafy, and Devout; and when my last Hour approached, I left all temporal Splendor with a joy-ful Heart, and now would not change my present Quiet for all the great

Hurry of the upper World, were I to reign and govern upon Earth as universal Monarch among the Wicked for ever. Is it not also the same with your Majesty?

LEWIS.

Not at all; for the at my Decease I did shew some Courage, I had rather have parted with the half of my Kingdom to bribe Death, if possible, to stay away only a few Years: Yet now at length this Place pleases me well enough; for I mult own that the Dwellings and Walks, here assign'd to me, are much better and siner than those at Versailles, Marly and Fountainbleau.

But what frets me here is the ill News we daily receive from the Land of the Living, particularly how my last Will and Testament (whereby I directed how I would have every thing done in France after my Decease) has been overthrown, and how that, instead of observing my Orders, they have acted in downright Opposition to all my Views in France: Oui Je fremis de depit, quand J'y pense, & Je voudrois bien pouvoir retourner au Monde & châtier ceux qui ont tant de Hardiesse. In English: Yes, I rage and foam when I think on it, and earnestly wish I could return to the World, were it only to punish those that dare be so bold.

LEOPOLD.

What vain Fancies do still molest your Majesty! Don't you know that after we are gone no body stands in sear of us; and that therefore it was in vain to dispose of any thing by Will and Testament, in prejudice of such as after our Demise must govern all in our stead: And much weaker is it, being dead, to be still uneasy at what we cannot help, and to threaten those who are beyond our Reach. Your Majesty then would do better not to molest your self with the Transactions of the Upper World, but rather hear unconcerned the News, and wisely consider that you are dead.

LEWIS.

Your Majesty is in the right, I had forgotten I was dead, and imagin'd I was still in my Closet at Versailles, where all my Subjects were wont to obey and tremble at a Wink or a Nod: But I'll do the best I can to banish Sorrow, and to consider every thing d'un sang froid. But, Sir, à propos, we being then dead, what signify these Titles we afford each other? Could we not converse as well with the Word You alone, without the Word Majesty?

LEOPOLD.

Very easily, and I readily agree to the Proposal; for as we have no Dependance upon the World, we should disregard its Dignities and Titles.

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Then, dearest Leopold, why was it impossible for us to live upon Earth as Friends? What was the Cause of the Antipathy between the House of Austria, and that of Bourbon? And what Reason was there for spilling so much Christian Blood?

#### LEOPOLD.

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A proper Question, and you know best how to answer it, knowing that your House ever look'd with a jealous Eye upon the good Fortune and the growing Honour of the House of Austria, and was especially vex'd and gall'd at the Pomp and Grandeur of the Imperial Crown. But as soon as you had fram'd the Grand Design to establish the Fifth Monarchy, and lay your Yoke upon the Necks of the whole World, your Hatred and Envy increased: In pursuance whereof, you began with Spain, not leaving any means unessay'd in order to devour that delicious Bit. Could you then expect that I and the other Potentates of Europe would be quiet and idle at such Proceedings?

#### LEWIS.

What you say is rational and true; for alas! the Poison of Flattery insected my good Humour from my Childhood, and People persuaded me early to think, that as there was but one Sun in the Heavens, so there should be but one Monarch upon Earth, and that no Prince was so sit for the universal Rule as my self, being the richest, the most powerful, and the most politic in Europe; and in my youthful Days was flatter'd by my Parasites as the most noble of all Persons.

#### LEOPOLD.

The Poison of Flattery hath spoil'd you, and even quite ruin'd several brave and great Princes: Happy therefore they that are surrounded with Faithful Great Men, who are not asraid to speak Truth in Presence of their Royal Masters, dare honestly tell them if the Case to be undertaken or depending is just or unjust, don't conceal the Hardships of the People under the Administration, and are always ready to sweeten the People's bitter Cup. For my own part, I was ever satisfy'd with what of Right belong'd to me, without encroaching on my Neighbours, and much rejoiced in Acts of Beneficence and Justice towards my poor Subjects.

#### LEWIS.

I can speak also of my good Deeds, and doubt whether any Potentate during my long Time can recount so great a Number of Acts of Beneficence: But leaving that Argument to others, let us rather converse about the most important and remarkable Acts and Deeds of our Times; and afterwards we may divert each other with our several Opinions of the present State of the Upper World.

LEOPOLD.

#### LEOPOLD.

With all my Heart, please to begin with your own Story.

#### LEWIS.

You know, my Mother Anna of Austria had been barren about 23 Years, when at length she was pregnant, and was deliver'd of me, then called a Gift from God; and my Father Lewis XIII. dying the 14th of May 1643, left me the Crown and Scepter in the 5th Year of my Age (when I was also christened;) but being a very tender Youth, and not capable of the Government, my Mother was forced to manage it all for me. My Father, by the Advice of Cardinal Richelieu, began to restrain the exorbitant Liberties of the Princes of the Blood, and of the Parliaments too, which made both at his Death to be much disgusted; consequently my Mother could not safely trust the great Assairs of State in their Hands, but was forced to chuse for her first Minister Cardinal Mazarin, a Man of great Skill, by Birth a Neapolitan, and to charge him with the Burden of the Administration: Nor was she mistaken in him, for he was capable of governing, not France alone, but also all Europe, and taught me his Art perfectly well.

When the Princes, the Parliaments, and other great Men of the Kingdom saw what Credit Mazarin had with the Queen my Mother, they were soon enraged, and began to contrive his Fall and Ruin: But he observing their Design, reviv'd and carry'd on the Project of his Predecessor Richelieu, to ruin the Princes, or at least to strip them and the Parliaments of all their ancient Power and Privileges, that so they might have nothing lest but the

bare Name and empty Title, and in reality become my Slaves.

Upon this the PRINCES began to confederate, and united their Powers against me; so that the Fire of Rebellion soon broke out in several Parts of the Kingdom, even while I was also engaged in foreign Wars with Spain

and Germany.

The Prince de Conde was the chief and most dangerous of all that opposed the Mazarin-Government; for he besieged Paris, and after he had straiten'd it by a great Scarcity, at last broke in upon its Suburbs with great Essusion of Blood. And even in that Capital City there was a vast Number of unquiet Malecontents that favour'd the Cause of the Princes, and put the poor Cardinal often in Danger of his Life; nay, the Parliament of Paris did so surjously proceed, and acted with so much Rage and sirm Resolution, that at last my Mother thought it the best Expedient to consent to the Cardinal's Banishment; notwithstanding which, in a little time, he attended my Mother incognito, and still govern'd all unseen.

But as soon as the Parliaments discover'd the Artifice, they agreed to proscribe him, and offered 20000 Crowns for his Head: Nay, the restless and tumultuous Plotters at Paris did even, several times, assault the Louvre,

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where I liv'd, and where I could not fafely refide long; upon which Account I retain'd some Hatred for that City till the end of my Life, and came

not within it again in 14 Years, as is well known.

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It happen'd once, when walking in the Wood of Vincennes, with a Gun in my Hand, I rencounter'd the banish'd Cardinal in an Alley, and said to him, jesting, How now good Cardinal, if I had a Mind to deliver up your Head, I could get by it 20000 Crowns. To which the Cardinal gravely reply'd, Sire, I hope my Head is able still to do your Majesty more Service than the Value of 20000 Crowns. This happen'd accordingly, like the sulfilling of a Prophecy; for by his Artisices in the Treaty of Westphalia, Anno 1648, I got the Landgraviate of A L S A T I A.

The Fire of Rebellion was partly extinguish'd, and partly expir'd by Degrees; and, Anno 1659, I snatch'd away by the Pyrenean Treaty the Spanish Infanta MARIA THERESIA for my Wife; and by her was born my Son Lewis the Dauphin, whose second Son, and my Grandson Philip d'Anjou, has obtain'd the Crown of Spain, as my great Grandson by her, Lewis XV. is now sitting in the Throne of France: For my said Son the Dauphin married a Princess of Bavaria, by whom he had i. the Duke de Bourgogne, who also dy'd the Dauphin, and whose Son is now my said present Successor; 2. The Duke d'Anjou, the said present King of Spain; and 3. The Duke de Berry, now dead: And you'll readily own that no better Match could be found out for me, upon many Accounts, than this, which was procured by the great Foresight and artful Management of Mazarin in the said Pyrenean Treaty.

When I was near of Age, and afterwards took upon my self the Government, I had the good Luck to be adored as a God by my People; every one, Catholicks and Huguenots, seem'd to love me, and strove soonest to become my Slaves, and chearfully to put on my Fetters: My Sovereign Will and Pleasure was the only Law in France, and none dared ever to contradict me till my Death, except a very sew, that paid for it with their Heads.

Now being an absolute Lord of such rich and powerful Dominions, and having the same time as much Ambition as Alexander the Great is supposed to have had, it was hardly possible to keep me within my proper Limits and due Bounds. I aimed therefore at the sole Government of Europe, nay, even of the whole WORLD, and sound it expedient to form sham Pretexts and political Screens, and frivolous Grounds of quarrelling, in order to justify my attacking those Countries, Provinces and Realms, to which I had no rightful Claim, and to subdue them under my Domination and Scepter by Art or Force, or by both; for I ever affected to join Arms and Policy together.

My Match with the INPANTA of Spain afforded me some better Pretension and Claim to that Cluster of Kingdoms the Spanish Monarchy, especially when the World despair'd of Royal Heirs from Charls II. her Brother,

and had no Hopes of his long Life. But I had no Patience to wait for his Death; and therefore after the Demise of my Father-in-Law Philip IV. I presently formed a Pretension Jure Devolutionis to the SPANISH NETHERLANDS, and Anno 1666, having attack'd them with much Vigour, I conquer'd the whole Artois, with many fine Cities, and enlarg'd my Frontiers almost to Brabant.

But Sweden, Holland, and Britain, having enter'd into the renowned Triple Alliance against me, I was forced to submit to the Treaty of Peace at Aix la Chapelle, and to surrender all I had conquer'd, except the Provinces of Artois, Lile, Tournay, Douay, and a good Tract of Flanders. And thus you see that by this hateful Triple Alliance my Grand Project of the Universal Monarchy was shipwreckt for that time, and blasted! Oh! Grand Dieu de l'Univers! Vous scaves how this did chagrin me!

However, as the Hollanders had first framed that Alliance, and chiefly promoted it, I readily conceiv'd an implacable and mortal Hatred at those Republicans; and I confess I never hated any People upon Earth so much as that covetous and selfish Nation, and heartily design'd their final Destruc-

tion.

To bring this about, after the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, I presently armed both by Sea and Land, and at the same time knew how to aveugle the Dutch, and make them careless of my Warlike Preparations: For I made no Noise on that Quarter; but being then Master of Lorrain (which, Anno 1662, I had bought, and you know I actually possess'd it for 28 Years) and of the Landgraviate of Alsatia, which, as I have told you, I got by the Treaty of Westphalia, I could, by means of these two Provinces, very easily and quietly levy out of Germany many good Soldiers and fine Horses to recruit and increase my Army, managing also the Swiss at my Sovereign Pleasure; for in all my Wars I never wanted 30000 Swiss in my constant Pay, and immediate Service.

My present Grand Design being only to destroy Holland (which I long'd for impatiently) I thought it very expedient to decoy several other Powers into an Alliance with me, that had also conceiv'd great Hatred at the Dutch, and were predispos'd for my Project; because then the Attack would be the more plausible, and the more easily made, as it would also produce the more heavy Vengeance upon my Low-Country Enemies: For which purpose I prevail'd with the Dutchess of Orleans, Sister of King Charles II. of England, to go over and visit her said Brother, and artfully incite him against the Dutch, who I knew must like such an Alliance well, having long abhorr'd that Nation: And my Ambassadors and Louisd'ores in Germany soon gain'd me the Bishop of Munster, and the Elector of Cologne.

Being thus affished with Allies, and having made all needful warlike Preparations, the Assault began Anno 1672. Better Cavalry, Infantry and Ordnance were never feen than mine; and on the contrary, I found the Dutch

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Fortresses and Passes ill-provided, and their Governors and Commandants were generally young, raw and unexperienced Officers: No wonder then that in one Campaign I easily became the Master of the whole Provinces of Gelder and Utrecht. My brave Mareschal de Luxembourg also undertook in Winter a daring Expedition against Amster and Mareschal de Luxembourg also undertook in Winter a rich and splendid City, if a sudden Thaw, which made the Ice impassable, had not forced him to retire.

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Mean while, the Bishop of Munster conquer'd the Province of Overyssel, and laid Siege to the City of Groningen, but was forced to raise it, and return to Westphalia.

The English also, according to the concerted Scheme, should have landed in ZEALAND; but, against all human Expectation, the Tide miraculously did not return as usual, and in the interim such Preparations were made there, that the English could not easily and safely attempt the Landing.

Now if the Flood against its natural Course had not kept back, the Bishop of Munster had not in vain besieg'd Groningen; and if the Thaw had not prevented my Luxembourg from seizing of Amsterdam, this heinous and insolent Republick had been overthrown in one Campaign. But Man proposes, God only disposes!

This Undertaking caused a general War to ensue; for you, Grand Leopold, Spain, and other Powers, enter'd into an Alliance against me, upon which there happen'd many bloody Battels, of which I won an infinite Number: And the bishop of Munster declin'd from me, the Elector of Cologne was defeated, and King CHARLES II. of England was forced by his Parliament to defert me also; nevertheless I gain'd C HARLES XI. King of SWEDEN, to my Side, who, tho' he was beaten in Pomerania, did serve me considerably, having push'd into the Dominions of FRIDERICK WILLIAM, the Elector of BRANDENBOURG, and much diverted the Forces of that warlike and experienc'd Prince from acting against me. Besides, I conquer'd Franche-Comté, lent the Marquis de Vivonne with a confiderable let chment of good Troops to make a Descent upon Sicily, in order to and the revolted City of MESSINA, and made uncommon and amazing Progresses in War elsewhere; for my Soldiers were much animated by my Presence in feveral Campaigns, and in the most dangerous Enterprizes, of which the City of Maestricht, and the desperate Assault upon its Counterscarp, can particularly witness. But at last, after all these Battels, I was forced, Anno 1679, to submit to the Peace of NIMEGUEN, and to surrender all my Conquests. except la Franche-Comté, and some Fortresses in the Netherlands.

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When now I had Time to respire a little, I carefully sent forth my Missionaries to act for me in foreign Courts and Countries, and by their means obtain'd, Anno 1681, the renowned City of Alsach, without Sword drawn, or Bloodshed. This puts me in mind of a Sermon which the Bishop of Strasbourg, William Egon, of Furstenberg, preached before me in the Cathedral, when at my Arrival there I took away from the Lutherans the Metropolitan Church of that City, and gave it to those of my Religion. The Words of his Text were those of old Simeon in the Temple; Lord, now lettest Thou thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word; for mine Eyes have seen Thy Salvation, &c. And I frankly own that the Praises and Flatteries the Bishop used in his Sermon did well suit my Genius, and pleas'd me to the Heart.

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Whilst you, Dearest Leopold, was much engaged against the Turk, who gave you Work enough, I was, on the contrary, at leisure to fish in troubled Waters, and to act the Politician; for at that time I soon erected two Boards, called the Re-Uniting-Chambers; the one at Metz, to enquire after and reclaim what from ancient Times had belong'd to Lorrain; and the other at Breysach, to enquire after and reclaim what formerly had belong'd to Alsatia: And you know that upon the Sentiments of the latter I founded my Pretensions to ten Imperial Cities.

And Anno 1684, having won the mighty and almost impregnable Fortress of Luxembourg, no Power on that Side of France durst oppose me, or indeed were able; for, Great LEOPOLD, you had then hot Work with the Turks, and could neither stop my career, nor defend your Allies: So that, au contraire, every body was forced to rest contented with my condescending to a Truce of 20 Years. At this time I had a prodigious great Work upon my Hands: The Huguenots, or the People of the REFORMED RELIGION, became so numerous in my Kingdom, that they seemed to be the quarter part of my Subjects, having been protected and privileged fince the Time of HENRY IV. (who originally was of the same Religion) according to the Edict of NANTES. Now tho for my part I had nothing to fay against that People, but on the contrary was assured, that as long as they were left undisturbed in the free Exercise of their Religion, I could rely upon their Fideliev; nevertheless, my Ministers of State, and particularly my Father Confessor, PERE LA CHAISE, daily invaded my Ears with his Ghostly Advice, to root out this Mob, as they were call'd. I shewed my self a long while not well inclin'd to this Project. But, at length, it being remonstrated to me that if this fort of People were severely treated, many of them would depart the Kingdom, and relinquish their Estates, which then could be easily confiscated to the Crown, and a great Treasure amass'd thereby; that those who should thus depart would hardly be miss'd out of so great a Number of People as my Kingdom did abound with; and that especially it would be more fafe and secure for me, if my People were all of one Religion: Besides, that

that the Huguenots did pretend to keep in Possession several Fortresses, as la Rochelle, and several more: I was at last perswaded to undertake their Conversion. It was not a difficult matter to obtain from his Heliness the POPE full Absolution for violating of the Edict of NANTES, that had been solemnly confirmed by Daths several times; and then I boldly reclaimed it, whereby I received many holy Titles from the Pope, the Clergy, and the People. What Tortures and Tribulations this poor People Suffered, and how those Booted Apostles my Dragoons, affisting the Jesuits and other Clergymen, did male-treat them; no Pen (as I am told fince my Decease by several impartial Persons in Elysium) shall ever be able to express. I never heard, during my Life, of the grievous Sufferings and Tortures of that People; they were industriously kept from my Knowledge, and I never commanded fuch Barbarities: So that should I accidentally meet with my said late Father Confessor, I should not fail to reproach him severely; nay, he should suffer the utmost of my Royal Indignation: But to this Hour I could never meet with him, nor any other of those perverse Counsellors here.

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The Conversion of my REFORMED SUBJECTS was over in two Years, viz. 1685, and 1686. But the I had gathered out of the confiscated Estates of those that had relinquish'd my Dominions a very considerable Treasure, nevertheless in a very short time it was squander'd and scatter'd away like Chaff; and I can freely own my not having enjoyed it in the least manner. It was told me indeed that some publick Debts had been paid with it, which I was willing to believe: But, on the contrary, I am fure soon after that Confiscation, I found my Revenues much decreased; and when I asked my Statesmen the Reason thereof, they answered, the Manufacturies of France are ruined; for those of your Subjects that have been expell'd for their Religion have well instructed foreign Nations how to weave Stuffs of Gold and Silver, to work in all Metals, and a vast many other things, which formerly they were forced to buy in France, but have them now as good, and cheaper at home. Reason enough to repent of what I had done against those Huguenots, but had no time to exercise Reason and Remorse, and soon gave my Fears to the Wind, having many other more important Affairs in my Head.

The celebrated City of ALGIERS, on the Coast of Barbary, next felt the Weight of my Stroke, for I had it bombarded smartly in the Year 1683, and forced her to promise to commit no surther Piracies against the Ships of France.

The City of Genoa in Italy, renowned by the Name of a great REPUBLICK, Anno 1684, suffered the same Fate, for furnishing Spain with some Ships when I was engaged in War with that Kingdom; for which I demanded Satisfaction. But the Republick not being then inclinable to give it, and I desirous B 2

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to make my Name fearful in all the World, fent my Fleet upon their Coast, and bombarded their Capital in such a Manner, that a great many fine Palaces were burnt and destroy'd, and abundance of People kill'd. Then I demanded no less than that the Doge, (who is the Chief in the Government of this People) attended with four SENATORS of the INNER-SECRET COUNCIL, all in their Habits of Pomp and Ceremony, should come to me into France, and humbly beg my Pardon upon their Knees; withal threatening them, that in case they did not agree to those Terms, I would next Year visit them again with a Present of Several Thousand Bombs. But this good Republick perceiving me to be in earnest, and knowing my Capacity to perform what I faid, was forced to accommodate herfelf to my Terms; and the Dog E accordingly, with Four Senators, came in due Form into France, Anno 1685; and having led them as in Triumph through my Kingdom, at last sitting upon my Throne, I had them before me in their Habits upon their Knees; and having humbly beg'd my Pardon, I folemnly gave it them, and again received the Republick into my Friendship; tho' I shall never forget the Answer the Dog E gave me when I asked him what remarkable things he had feen in France; for he said, Nothing more curious than to fee the DOGE of GENOA in Juch a Posture before your Majesty.

The fame Year, 1685, died Charles the Elector Palatine; and with him was the reformed Electoral Line extinguished, and the House of Neubourg, of our Religion, succeeded: But his Sister, Charlotte Elizabeth, being married to Philip Duke of Orleans, I had ground enough then to form a Pretension upon the Palatinate, but delay'd to make an Irruption into this Country till the Year 1688, when the Elector of Cologne dy'd, and Joseph Glemens, a Prince of Bavaria and Bishop of Ratisbon, and Frey-singen, against my Will, was chosen in the Place of the deceased; for I design'd that the Bishop of Stasbourg, my old Friend William Egon of Furstenberg, (who a little before had obtained the Purple-Dignity of a Cardinal) should have been the Elector of Cologne.

Now the you, Great Leopold, with Spain, England, Holland, and Savoy, join'd in a strong Alliance to resist my Views, and extinguish my Power, I did not much regard it; for, Anno 1688, I opened the Theatre of War on all Sides of France: And the particularly the late WILLIAMPRINCE of ORANGE (afterwards the King of GREAT BRITAIN) had with much ado hinder'd me from re-establishing KINGJAMES II. upon that Throne, who had shelter'd himself with me; yet I vigorously carried on that War several Years; in which, to my Advantage, happened many important Sieges and Battels; particularly that at FLEURY and LEUSE in the Netherlands, bravely fought by my victorious Troops. Notwithstanding also my Coast was much insessed with the Confederate-Fleet, that bombarded Calais, Dieppe, St. Malo, and

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and Havre de Grace, and did me other Damages; nevertheless, I did not make Peace sooner than I thought sit, even till Anno 1697 at RISWICK, (a la Maison de plaisance) between the Hague and Delst in HOLLAND: For I condescended to give Peace to Europe then, because I foresaw the approaching Death of Charles II. King of Spain, and time was required to take my Measures, and form my Designs, that this Monarchy either by Force of Arms, or by Intrigues, should fall into my Hands.

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This Death soon followed after, viz. the first of November, 1700; and the time I got by the Peace of Riswick, had served me so far, that I gained many of the principal Ministers and Governors of that King; amongst whom was the curious and skillful Cardinal Portocarrent, who, you know, did me signal Services; for he presented to the King, when he was agonizing, a Will made at Versailles; and when he was not able more to peruse it, nor to consider the Importance of the Affair, yet prevailed so with him, that he subscribed it, and died.

I had soon forgotten to mention here something of the renowned Treaty of PARTITION, about the Succession to the Crown of Spain, made between Me, England and Holland, after the Death of the ELECTORAL PRINCE of BAVARIA, who should have been King of Spain: According to which, the Duke of Lorrain should have had the Spanish Netherlands, and Lorrain was to be mine, with the two Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and several other small Advantages, and the rest should have fallen to the House of Austria's Share. You, Dearest Leopold, protested vehemently against it; and, for my part, I was not in earnest to be bound to it, but endeavour'd only to lust assert the Powers then allied with me.

Tho' the Will I made for the late King of Spain to fign (as I just now observed) was framed artfully enough for my Purpose; yet I easily foresaw that a bloody War was unavoidable, and accordingly endeavour'd to prepare for it the best I could. My first Politick was to induce a few warlike and potent Princes to come over to my Side; which succeeded also immediately in the very beginning (even before the Death of the late King of Spain) to gain the ELECTOR of BAVARIA, and his Brother the ELECTOR of COLOGNE; though, as I have told you already, he had obtained that Dignity against my Will.

As soon as the News of King CHARLES II.'s Death arrived at Versailles, I was obliged to call together a Sham-Council, and to profess to deliberate whether I was bound to follow the TREATY of PARTITION, or was at Liberty to execute the TESTAMENT OF Will of the deceased King. And as every Member of that Council present did approve that the Testament was justly

justly to be preferred before the faid Treaty, I was readily pleased, and immediately calling my Grandson the Duke de A N J o u, who in the faid Testament was named Successor to the Spanish Monarchy, I first declared him KING of Spain in the faid Council; and then taking him by the Hand, I brought him into the Anti-Chambers, where a great many Noblemen were present, and with a loud Voice proclaim'd, Voila le Roy d'Espagne! Behold the King of Spain! Upon which every one was buly to congratulate him. Then I fent for a Triumphal Chariot, and in it went with the New King of Spain to Paris, where in the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame, I ordered the Te Deum to be sung upon this Occasion, and gave him there the upper Hand, but never afterwards visited that City in all my Life. After this I made him hasten his Journey to Spain, where, notwithstanding the great Numbers of the Discontented, he was well received.

No time was to be lost in notifying to the other European Powers in due Form my Grandson's Accession to the Throne of Spain. ENGLAND and HOLLAND at first dissembled, as if they had been satisfy'd with it, and congratulated Us thereupon. PORTUGAL was actually brought over to my Side; and the Duke of Savov, by the Offer of a Match between the new King of Spain and his second Daughter, was easily gained: MANTUA received with Joy my Troops, and the Fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands my Garrisons. By all these happy Aspects, I flatter'd my self already to have gained my Point, when on a sudden the whole Theatre changed: For you, Dearest Leopold, being firmly resolv'd to defend your Right Sword in hand, began the War in Italy, where in the first Campaigns Isustained great Losses. England and Holland joined with you, and brought against me a potent Confederate Army into the Netherlands, and their terrible Fleets appeared in the Ocean, and in the Mediterranean too. Portugal likewise opened its Eyes, and enter'd into your Grand Alliance: Nay, at length, proper means were found to draw the Duke of Sayor again from me.

And as in Italy I could not prevail, so neither against England and Holland, which by their formidable Conjunction too foon discomfitted the Elector of Cologue, and with their bold Troops seized his well-provided Fortresses, and mine too. So that I could do nothing in the beginning on that Side; but I prosper'd for almost two Campaigns together very well in Germany, as soon as the Elector of Bavaria had broken loose and seized the City of ULM: For I gained the Battel near FRIEDLINGEN; and when my Troops join'd those of Bavaria, I was victorious at Speyerback, again conquer'd Landau, and your Field-Marshal STYRUM was killed, 1703, near HOCHSTADT; A UGSPURG fell into my Hands, and I made other good Progresses on that Side: Nay, when the Elector of Bavaria took the City of Passau, there was a Scheme laid even to beliege VIENNA itself.

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The mean while the Confederate Fleets of my Enemies were not alleep, but had made themselves Masters of GIBRALTAR at the Fretum, as well as of Barcelona, and other Places of Catalonia.

But when, Anno 1704, the unlucky Battel at Dochstadt in GERMANY; and afterwards, Anno 1705, that other at RAMMELLIES in Elanders; and, Anno 1706, the third Defeat at TURIN, did happen, all my good Fortune was retrograde ever after. For tho' fometimes in Spain I was fuccessful, and gloriously conquer'd in the Battel near Almanza, and made other Conquests thereabouts; nay, had twice drawn MADRID out of the Hands of my Enemies, yet the Play did not entirely please me: For when at last my strong LISLE was taken, 1708, my Army ruin'd the fame Campaign in the Netherlands; and, above all, when a great Scarcity in my Kingdom with a prodigious Winter happen'd, those unlucky Circumstances, Isay, forced me to entertain some Thoughts of Peace; and for that purpose did I send my Ambassadors to the Hague. But you know that Negotiation prov'd abortive; for the Allies propos'd too hard Conditions, and absolutely demanded of me to recall my Grandson out of Spain, and to retire into my old Limits, according as the same had been at the time of the Treaty of WESTPHALIA: Therefore I broke off those Treaties, just when every body thought I was so far reduced as to comply with all that the ALLIES had prescrib'd to me. Nevertheless, one fine Fortress after another was lost: TOURNAY, almost as strong as LISLE, fell into the Hands of my Ene-'mies, 1709: And a few Weeks after, my Army suffer'd very much in the Battel at MALPLAQUET, the most bloody in the World; for there were reckon'd more than 26000 Dead on both Sides. But tho' the Enemies Loss in the Onset might have been as great as mine; yet they were Masters of the Field of Battel, and my Army was beaten out of a mighty Retrenchment, as valuable as a good Fortress; which facilitated my Enemies to advance their Conquest, immediately taking Mons, and other strong Places from me; so that this was a wretched Campaign on my Side. Notwithstanding those unlucky Blows, I still expected the Return of my better Fortune; and by several Envoys and Plenipotentiaries at GERTRUYDENBERG, I offer'd again fundry Proposals of Peace, endeavouring, if possible, to divide the Grand Alliance, which I found was not so soon to be done; and was therefore obliged to stay about a Year and a half, till the Death of your Son and Successor the Emperor Joseph.

The mean while the Tories had got the Ascendant in England, and induced Queen Anne to receive very good Impressions to my Advantage: They long'd to destroy Marlborough, with all his Family, and the whole Ministry of the Whies; nay, even to proceed so far as to undo the Ast of Settle-

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Settlement concerning the Protestant Succession in the Line and House of Hanover, and to set my Chevalter de St. George upon their Throne. To bring this to bear, their Interest required that they themselves should break the said Grand Alliance, and conclude a Peace with me; for which they wanted only a fair Pretext, and had it accordingly, when the Emperor Joseph died; for the Electors were steady and sirm in the Interest of your August House, which brought your Son Charles from Catalonia, who was immediately crowned Emperor. Then they said in England, that Europe had got another Face; for he, whom we would have put upon the Spanish Throne, is now adorned with the Imperial Crown, and his Power will grow monstrous: Why should we then venture our Lives, Blood, and Estates, to make him so potent?

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As foon as my General Tallard (who, fince the Battel of Hochstadt, had remained a Prisoner in England) advis'd me how the English Court was disposed, I delay'd not to blow up this Fire, and saved no Expences for, &c. until at last Utrecht, a renowned Town in the United Netherlands, was chosen for the Congress of a Treaty of Peace. But this Peace was, for the greatest part, concerted already with the English Ministry according to my Liking.

At the opening of the Congress I endeavour'd to gain Holland, whither I had sent my Marshal d'Uxelles, one of the most accomplish'd Ministers of State in his Time; the Abbot Polignac (now Cardinal); and Menager, a Merchant, but in effect well able to act the Minister of State, as I then created him, especially about what concerned Trade and Navigation, so important for France. These three were Plenipotentiaries, to whom I joined several sty and skillful People, that certainly made no ill Figure: But the Dutch would not hear of a Cessation of Arms; and Prince Eugene in the Summer 1712 took Quesnoy, and went before Landree Eugene open the Passage to Paris; having likewise already sent in the Spring of this Year a strong Party of 1500 Men to ravage my Kingdom, and which particularly in Champaigne had done no little Damage.

The Truce proposed being thus rejected at UTRECHT, my Friends in England so far carried their Point and mine, that the Duke of ORMOND (who, instead of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, that had been always very satal to me, now commanded the English Troops) got Orders to propose the Cessation to Prince Eugene, and in case the Prince should not approve of it, nevertheless to publish it, and then to draw off all the Troops under his Command (as well Native Britons, as Foreigners in British Pay, consisting together of sorty odd thousand Men) from Eugene, and to leave him to the bon Plaisir of my Mareschal de VILLARS. This I liked mightily;

mightily; and Villari afterwards would certainly have made very fhort Work with Eugene, but that the Generals of those foreign Troops excused themselves, declaring, They could not leave Prince Eugene, except they had positive Orders from their respective Sovereigns, who had sent them thither; not being there for British Pay only, but rather more for the Common Cause. This proved according to my Conjecture, and to that of my English Friends. Nevertheless, my Villare Rs succeeded in a very fine Enterprize; for he knew well how to govern himself according to the Intelligence of the Enemies Motions, which he constantly received from the English Camp, that had now separated from the rest of the Army; for he attack'd a Corps of 15000 Men, near Denain, in a Retrenchment, and entirely ruin'd it: Upon which the Magazines of the Enemy, and Quesnoy, Douay, Bouchain, and other Places, were retaken that Campaign soon after one another. Nay, more,

The separate Peace with ENGLAND was published before the End of this Year; and HOLLAND, SAVOY, and PORTUGAL followed the Year after. Nevertheless, your son the Great CHARLES would not consent to the Peace of UTRECHT, but did venture still, 1713, a Campaign; in which my VILLARS took LANDAU, forced the Lines near Rothweil, and conquer'd lastly FREYBOURG in a very bad Season, when the Snow was fallen several Foot high. Upon which we resolved both to have our Generals meet, viz. Prince EUGENE, and the Mareschal de VILLARS, and to use their Pens against one another instead of their Swords, to shew their Experience and Capacity in Matters of State and Politicks, for concluding a Peace at Rastad; which happen'd the 6th of March, 1714, and therewith ended the War; which taught me that Fortune had not devoted her self my Slave, or rather, that I was not invincible.

For the Wars caused me many forrowful and melancholy Hours; and the Project to gain the Universal Monarchy, I had nourished so long in my Bosom, soon vanished, even in the first Years of the last War: And the only Satisfaction I have by it, is, that I govern'd Spain several Years, and at last lest my Grandson Philip surrounded with several Heirs as King and Sovereign of all Spain: Tho' it was a very dear Satisfaction, and cost me about a Million of Men; and for which a thousand Millions of Crowns have been spent, that could have been saved, if I had contented my self with my own Kingdom of FRANCE.

And, after all, I was forced to demolish my strong Fortress and fine Harbour of Dunkirk, to yield up other curious Fortresses, as Tournay, Menin, &cc. and to give such Advantages to England which formerly I had never suffer'd to be proposed to me; as also to acknowledge the Duke of Savor

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British and liked tily; Savor (who, when allied with Austria, is a dangerous Neighbour to France) as King of Sicily, and to see him take Possession of that Kingdom, and to have himself crowned.

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After the Conclusion of the Peace at Rastad, I turned my Eyes towards England, and expected with great Impatience, when the poor Chevalier de St. George, without much Force of Arms, should come to that Crown: But before I was aware of it, Queen Anne died suddenly on the first of August, 1714, of English Style, and I was obliged to recognize and congratulate her Successor George Elector of Brunswick and Lunenbourg as King of Great-Britain.

Nevertheless, there happen'd, Auno 1715, a great Conspiracy and Rebellion, which revived my Hopes for the Chevaller. But I had hardly received the News of the English Disturbances, and the Insurrections of Scotland, when I selt great Pains in my Legs: And tho' I sent for the most expert Physicians and Surgeons from all Parts, yet the Distemper grew worse every Day, till at last the Gangreen appeared.

Those that were about me were prodigiously astonished at the Sight, but would not dare to discover to me the Danger I was in, till from their disturbed Faces I conjectur'd it; when I conjured them to hide nothing from me, and assured them they would do me a particular Service in being thus free and faithful. Upon which the Physicians and Surgeons sent me Word by Madam de Mainten on of my approaching End. She appeared before me with a most sorrowful Face; and, after being almost melted in Tears, said, with a pitiful Voice, Sir, Your Majesty's Command is to conceal nothing from you as to your present Condition; and as we are abundantly convinced of your generous Soul, which is capable to despise the Bitterness of Death, they have committed it to me to tell your Majesty, That the Gangreen is actually in your Limbs, and your Majesty consequently without Hope of recovering, if at least you won't condescend to have one of your Legs cut off, which even can't be done but with the Danger of your Life.

Upon this I was very much surprized; but calling to mind I was a Mortal, who, like other Men, naturally had a great Aversion at Death, soon reply'd: Well, Madam, I know I am a Man, and that at last I must pay the Debt of Nature; but I would now certainly know how long I have still to live. She answered, Three Days, Sir, and no longer; crying, Oh Deaden! what a Monarch does the World lose in you, and France a King and Father! and I, alas! I don't know how to reckon my Loss, nor how to comfort my self! She would have continued longer in Lamentations, but I interrupted her, and ordered the Chancellor, and some other Ministers, to be call'd immediately, in whose Presence I entirely

I entirely accomplished my Will, made besides two Codicils, with other necessary Dispositions, and sent thereupon for the Princes and Princesses of the Blood, recommending to them Unity, and strictly to observe my Testament. The Remainder of my Time 1 spent in holy Contemplations, and particularly in Company with the Cardinal de Rouan, and my Father Confessor Pere Le Tellier, and died the first of September, 1715, in the 77th Year of my Age.

My Power hath always been great, which no body can dispute: For fince the Peace of Nimeguen, until that of Rastad, I never wanted an Army of 260000 Men, Horse and Foot; and no King of France had ever such a maritime Force as I had; for I employ'd above 50000 Men aboard my Navy, if I reckon all that belong'd to the Marine Service.

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Learning, Arts and Sciences, during my Government, were advanced to as high a Pitch as ever was possible; and all Professions and Artists endeavour'd to excel each other; for every new Invention was very well rewarded by me, and several curious Academies of all sorts of Sciences and Arts have been erected by me.

The Art of Building regular Fortresses, the Ordnance or Artillery, particularly the Bombs; the Skill how to attack, or defend a City; and the very finest Order of Battel, have been either invented or improved under my Countenance and Encouragement.

My Subjects, through all my Kingdom, by many fine Laws and Regulations, have been so civiliz'd and polish'd, that my Commonalty exceeded all other Mob upon Earth in Manners, Complaisance, and Politeness.

I reformed the Abuses that had crept into the Administration of Justice, and put it upon such a Foot as it never had been before: Yea, I appointed Weekly several Hours, when every one aggrieved could come with their Complaints, and were duly heard.

A great Variety of divers Modes, and an infinite Number of Plays, Pleafures and Diversions, have been found out during my Life, both by Men and Women, under my Patronage; which certainly must be owned to be very fine, and generally agreeable, they being imitated and cherished, and cultivated by all other European People.

The Language of my Nation has been so much polish'd in my Time, that for Neatness and Agreeableness none other can be preferred before it; nay, I have made it almost Universal, it being taught in all Europe.

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My Generals, particularly the Marshals of France, as Torenne, Conde, Luxembourg, Catinat, Villeroy, Vendome, Uxelles, Villers, Hartcourt, Tallard, and many others, were the chief Masters in the Art of War. My Ministers of State, as Mazarin, Colebert, Voisin, Desmarais, Torcy, &c. were the best Masters in Politicks. The Gentlemen and Ladies at my Court were the hand-somest and politest Creatures in all the World, and most of them were sit for every thing; nay, my Generals returning from the Campaign to Court, did shew themselves no less able Ministers of State, and sine Courtiers, than wise and brave Soldiers.

By most Curious ARCHITECTURE I particularly endeavour'd to establish an eternal Memory, which VERSAILLES, MARLY and FONTAINEBLEAU can still testify.

Versailles is a very spacious and magnificent Palace, with large Gardens, wherein are amazingly fine Walks and stately Trees; particularly most excellent Orange Trees, many and great Basons, Conduits, Canals and Waterworks, which have not their Equal in the whole World, and which cost some thousands of Crowns every time they are set a playing. All the profane History of ancient Times is to be seen in numberless fine Statues, with wonderful Figures also of Sea-Monsters, and all forts of Creatures, either carved in Marble, or cast in Brass or Lead: Likewise a good Number of Grotto's magnificently adorned, and many Pleasure-Houses in the Gardens. The Gardens are below furrounded with a spacious Sea, upon which Reople may divert themselves in several Pleasure-Boats; but round about there's a Forest, wherein every thing is ready, if there's a mind for hunting: The Menagerie, or the Buildings, where several rare and wild Beasts are kept, is certainly precious and costly, and well deserves to be seen; and hardly better and richer Furniture and Tapestry Hangings can be seen in the whole World, than in that House. In one word, Versailles may properly be called the Eighth Wonder of the World. Nor can it be easily computed how many Millions I have fpent upon it.

If he that sees Versailles be surprized, I am sure he cannot observe Marly but likewise with great Admiration. Tho it is not so spacious, nor so fine and pompous, nevertheless every thing therein to be seen smiles and diverts the Beholder; and every body is assonished at the great Water-Engine there, which every Year costs 10000 Crowns for its Preservation. FONTAINEBLEAU, my capital hunting Palace, is situated extreamly sine, and every where like a terrestrial Paradise.

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Spa wa I adorn'd the whole City of PARIS with Lamborns, which, by Lines drawn from one House to another, hang so high in the Middle of the Streets, that they cannot be reached with Pikes: In every Lanthorn burns a great Candle; and tho' they must be let down when the Candles are to be put in, nevertheless in the short Space of a quarter of an Hour all the Lanthorns thro' the whole City burn and give Light together. The Cleamess of the Streets, and the magnificent City-Palaces there to be seen, are owing likewise to my Care.

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Consider too, Dearest Leopold, what a magnificent Building for the Invalids I have erected in the Suburbs of St. Germain. This House is for the Maintenance of Officers and Soldiers, who in my Service were made lame, and brought to such Misery, that without it they must be reduced to Poverty and Beggary. This Building is called a Royal Palace; for it is so fine and spacious, that several Kings with their Courts could reside therein; and there are actually about 8000 Men often bestowed and maintained in it, with Eating, Drinking, Cloathing and Bedding. In the Middle of this Building is a great and very fine Church. No Woman can enter this Palace alone without Company; and if there be not five or six with her, she cannot enter one Room.

I cannot forbear to describe a little that most famous Cloister of St. Cire, whereof Madam de Maintenon is Abbess. I founded it for 300 poor noble Ladies to be educated in all Virtues, Arts and Sciences, necessary and proper for them, as Stitching, Embroidering, Knitting, Wax-work, Sugar-baking, Gardening, Languages, Poetry, Dancing, Musick Vocal and Instrumental, &c. Yet they are permitted to go out of it, and be married before their 30th Year of Age; and if any of them finds an approved Match, she is endow'd with 20000 Livres: But after her 30th Year, she is obliged to chuse the Claister, and to live in it for ever. Besides this, I have built and endowed more than 500 Churches and Cloisters. Likewise have I fortify'd with Walls and Ramparts 210 Places of Strength.

They have erected in sundry Parts magnificent Statues of Brass to my Honour: At Lyons I am on Horseback, and so at Paris, at the Place called Vendôme. La Place des Victoires at Paris cannot be unknown, having raised so much Noise in the World. My Statue stands there erected on Foot, and Fame in the Air holds a Laurel Garland above my Head. The Pedestal of this Statue is pompous; for at my Feet lie sour Giants in Ferters; one of which holds your Arms, my Dearest Leopold; the second that of Spain, the third that of Holland, and the fourth that of Algier. What this was to signify, is easily to be understood. Lower at this Pedestal all my Heroick

Heroick AEs are to be read in cast Letters. There is no want of Triumphal Porches, for they are almost every where to be seen, and there has been coin'd an infinite Number of Medals upon every lucky Expedition.

I exceedingly affected external Splendour and Magnificence: Every thing was to look Grand and Royal. The most eminent Princes and Princesses, and a great Number of Quality, ever attended and conducted me wherever I went: There were at least always 150 Persons about me, who had the grand Orders of the Holy Ghost and St. Michael. Nor did my Guards make a less splendid Figure; and you may believe that those Troops, which went under the Name of La Maison du Roy, always consisted of about 18000 Men, of which were the Grand Mousquetaires, all Officers; 2dly, the Gens d'Arms; 3 dly, the Guards du Corps ; 4thly, the little Gens d'Armerie ; 5thly, Les Chevaux Legers; 6thly, Carabiniers; 7thly, the 100 Swifs in their Habit of Ceremony; 8thly, a Guard of Swifs Mousquetaires of 3000 Men; with two other Regiments, bearing the Name of the Regiments du Corps.

The Fame of my Majesty resounded through all the World, from whence it came that several remote and grand Potentates, as the Emperor of CHINA, the Turkish SULTAN, the Sophi of PERSIA, and all the European Princes, fent their Embassies to me, in order to request my Friendship, and to offer the richest Presents; tho' I returned always double in Value to shew that in me dwelt a generous Mind.

As often as any fuch Ambassador was introduced to my Audience, my whole Court was to appear in Form, and I was fitting upon my Throne in the greatest Majesty and Brightness; for 'tis certain that when I gave Audience to the last Persian Ambassador, I was deckt with Jewels that amounted to more than the Value of 15 Millions of Livres.

Nor was I a Niggard of my Pensions, but very generously bestow'd them, as not only my own Subjects can witness, but even foreign Artists and learned Men, to whom I was often beneficent without their Application. For this I found out ways and means, that so I might acquire the World's high Esteem and Renown; for my Revenues amounted annually to 120 Millions of Crowns; so that I was able enough to be generally beneficent, and also to maintain my own Grandeur, if the great Wars and many other Intrigues had not exhausted me too much, and brought me under such terrible and intolerable Debts.

As to my own Honour, I have been always very jealous of it: For if any of my Subjects did shew the least Dislike of my Sovereign Will and Orders, he was immediately banish'd France, or put into the Bastille.

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reigner, whoever he was, must be obliged to give me prompt Satisfaction for the least Offence, if he would not feel my Indignation and Vengeance.

Lastly, I must own that I have been no Enemy to the fair Sex; for the Ladies of a noble Soul, and a particular good Wit, could easily obtain my Grace and Favour. Mademoiselle Mancini, a Niece to Cardinal Mazarin, got my Maidenhead; and besides, the World has heard of my four chief Misseresses, with whom I enter'd into strong Engagements. The first was laValliere, the lame, and not very handsome, yet of a curious Understanding, and born of the Princess de Conty, whose Husband was the late Prince of this Name; the second was the Dutchess of Montespan, whom I took from her Husband, and sent him into Exile for being so bold as to appear at Court in a long Mourning Cloak on purpose to affront me. I had with her several Children, amongst others the present Dutchess of Orleans, the Duke de Maine, and my High Admiral the Comte de Toulouse. The third was la Fontange, who invented the Coifs call'd Fontanges to this Day by the Ladies. The fourth is Mainten on, still living.

This Woman was Daughter of a poor Nobleman, and born by a Goal-keeper's Daughter. He was in Prison for fighting, after I had forbid Duelling upon pain of being hang'd; and the Goal-keeper's Daughter every Day bringing his Victuals, was at last perswaded to set him at Liberty, and to run away with him, upon Condition that he would marry her, which afterwards did follow. Madam de MAINTENON was born in a Village, and poor Peafants were her Godfathers and Godmothers, and in her Infancy was obliged to travel with her Parents to the West-Indies, where they thought to raise their Fortune; but she returned in the eighth Year of her Age (her Parents being dead) to her Godfathers and Godmothers, who brought her up in the faid Village, where there was a crooked Bailli, who had a mind to marry her after the was grown up. But the mean while, a Marchioness happening to travel thro' the Village, faw this Girl, then very handsome, young and gay; and by her Answers to several Questions, discovering a mighty Genius; the obtain'd the Lady's Favour, who offering to take her into her Service, the Girl immediately resolved, and went along with her. After some Years, the was alienated from this Lady by the Marquis de Chevreux, with whom the lived a long time as House-Keeper, but left him at last in some Difcontent and Disgust, and came to Paris, where she lived a while as a free and fingle Woman; till at last, by the help of another Woman, she got acquainted with the famous Peet SCARRON, that by his Crookedness appeared like a Monster, and who took her for his Wife: But he lived not long, and left her a good Fortune: Upon which Madam de SCARRON got the Opportunity to be received into the Service of my Mistress MONTESPAN as her dreffing Woman. I had then a Custom of fending every every Morning a Billet to Montespan, which the was obliged immediately to answer. But once being indisposed, she ordered Scarron to draw her an Answer, which she copied and sent to me. I soon found this Answer was not drawn by Montespan, the Style being something extraordinary, and surpassing her Genius; and a little after, vifiting her my felf, I importun'd her till the told me who had made the faid Answer to my Billet. This made me first to observe her Person a little more, and next began to esteem her, and to forget, nay, to abandon at last entirely my former Mistress Montespan: Tho' I had already some Love Intrigues with Madam de la FONTANGE, who, in my Affections, immediately took place of Montespan. But Fontange's Death foon happening, made way for Maintenan to be the only Object of my Love: Tho' she was forty Years of Age at that time, she nevertheless chained my Heart so much, that hereafter I never changed more; and as my Father Confessor then moved some Scruples of Conscience to me about her, I honeftly married her privately, and afterwards have often resolved to publish this Match, and to proclaim her a QUEEN, but was hinder'd by the DAUPHIN, and some others, for whom I had the highest Regard: Tho' tis certain that for her great Wildom she not only deserved to be Queen of France, but even the Governess of the whole World too. The Burdens and Cares of my Government, fince I attach'd my felf to her, she has faithfully borne with me to the last, and has drawn me out of many Confusions with her prudent Advices.

I never lov'd much Drinking, but was an avowed Enemy to it; and, on the contrary, I did eat the more; nay, as much as three ordinary Persons. I brought a Tooth with me into the World at my Birth, as an Omen of a good Stomach, and of an healthy Constitution: And tho' I lost all my other Teeth, yet I kept the said Tooth to the last, and died with it alone, as I was born with it.

Falshood and Cowardice in my Officers and Soldiers, when perceived or proved, I never left unpunished; and, on the contrary, I recompensed Fidelity and true Bravery, as became a King, whereof the Order of St. Lewis, well provided with so many Pensions, is a pregnant Evidence.

According to outward Appearance, I was very much devoted to Religion; for I heard every Day Mass, weekly several Sermons, went often to the Vespers, and otherwise I shewed a great Zeal for the Glory of God, neglecting nothing that could serve to confirm my People in their Opinion, that they actually had the most Christian King for their Sovereign.

Since my Death I have heard that my Corpse was soon after magnificently interred at St. Demis, and my Funeral celebrated in the most solemn, bright and

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and pompous Manner, with which I am fatisfy'd well enough: But it has afflicted me very much to know that my Will and Testament is not observed at all, and that the Duke of ORLEANS, under the Name of a Curator of the young King, reigns as absolutely as ever I did. 'Tis true, I ordained that the DUKE should be the Head of the Regency, but nevertheless that every thing should be done by Plurality of Votes.

It grieves me further very much that my Declaration has been made void. by which I legitimated my natural Sons the Duke de MAINE, and the Count de Toulouse, with their Male Issue, and qualified the same to succeed to the Crown of France, whereby my two Sons have undergone many Troubles and Vexations: But more, that the REGENT has invited back many People I had fent into Exile: And am uneasy about that horrid Chamber of Justice newly establish'd, that has male-treated many Families, for which I had a peculiar Kindness, and has entirely ruin'd them, tho' they were known to be my Friends. Nay, they have ill-used my Father Confessor PERE le TELLIER, and the other Jesuits; insomuch that it is almost resolved to banish them all out of France. Besides, in the Affair of the Constitution, there's some Ground to fear that at last the JANSENISTS will prevail over and subdue the zealous Catholicks.

Lastly, it vexes me prodigiously that they make such Alliances as I could never affect, but abhor'd or scorn'd them. This, Dearest LEOPOLD, makes me so uneasy, that I much deplore to be now no more than a Shadow, and that I can't once again return to France and give other Orders.

#### LEOPOLD.

Your History, Dear LEWIS, has pleased me very much, tho' it has been long: You have spoken several times very high, according to your Passions, and oftentimes also a little too frank and open: But I was used to speak sparingly, and not altogether open. Give me leave therefore, in order to explain my felf the better, to ask you some Questions. Tell me then, if you please, why you forgot to praise your self for sending Succours of 8000 Men once into Hungary against the Turks, and which, Anno 1664, did assist in obtaining the Victory near St. Gothard's?

#### LEWIS.

I omitted it, because my Generals, after the Victory, did hinder its vigorous Profecution, as it could have been well improv'd, had they concurr'd: And, on their Return to France, I employ'd them to take Exfurt, at the Defire of the Elector of MAYENCE, in whose Hands this Town remains to this Day; after which they ferved me in several other such Tricks, which

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right and was the Cause I believe that you and the German Powers have never since demanded any Succours against the Turks from France.

#### LEOPOLD.

You are in the right. Tell me further why you mention'd nothing of the Black Chilo, which your Wife the Infanta of Spain brought forth inftead of a white one.

#### LEWIS.

I thought that this Trifle was not worth mentioning; for she had received an Impression of a Black Woman, which is a thing very common to Women big with Child, and the young Black Princess soon after died.

#### LEOPOLD.

And why did you not mention that Solemn Renunciation which you, as well as the Infanta, for your own Persons, and for your Issue, made never to think upon the Succession to the Spanish Monarchy?

#### LEWIS.

Because I ever look'd upon that as another Trifle, and a thing that no wise Man could expect should be kept; for as the Renunciation was made by us at a Disadvantage, and by Force extorted from our Weakness in that Situation of Assairs, it should not be alledged that I should stand to it. Besides, how can Parents renounce for their Children? And why should not Children vigorously endeavour to maintain their just Rights, derived by their high Birth and Relation?

#### LEOPOLD.

It is well enough. But have a little Patience; for out of my History you shall hear it quite otherwise, and you shall confess that you, and all your Descendants, were obliged to keep holy the said Renunciation. Pray tell why at the Peace of Ryswick you did abandon your dear Ally King James II. of England, and recognize the Title of the Prince of ORANGE as King of Great-Britain.

#### LEWIS.

I never design'd to re-establish James, or to six the Pretender with Force of Arms upon the English Throne; which you may conclude from the small Succours I sent to Ireland for King James, and to Scotland for the Chevalier de St. George, when nine Years ago he had a mind to try his Fortune there; tho' I knew well enough that Posse was not sufficient to mend their forsorn Case. In the interim, as nothing could be effected for them by their several Parties in England, I condescended they should stay with me in France. If

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I had used too much Force in their Behalf, the Whigs had been too much weakened, and had never attempted to make themselves absolute, which I should not have liked at all: For it is the Interest of France that the English Nation continue to be a free People, unquiet, and divided always amongst themselves; having made it my Business, since the beheaded Charles l's Time, to set the Factions of England together by the Ears; and for which purpose I spent great Sums of Money, in order to render them thoughtless of my Assairs, and not solicitous to observe my Doings, nor at leisure to penetrate into my private Designs.

#### LEOPOLD.

These are subtle Tricks. Pray tell me next your Opinion, whether those that in the great Persecution of 1685 and 86 were forced to profess the Roman Catholick Religion, were in their Hearts truly converted?

#### LEWIS.

Force is not good in Matters of Religion, and that I know by Experience; for those that were then forced to abjure the reformed Religion, nay, and their Children too, tho' afterwards born, are not true Catholicks; notwith-standing they go to Mass, and now and then to Confession: For they propagate their old Belief amongst themselves, and no Mortal is able to root it out of their Hearts.

#### LEOPOLD.

Was you ever acquainted with the Cruelties of your Troops at the beginning of the War, Anno 1688, in the Palatinate? particularly at Heidelberg, where they spoil'd even the Tombs, took out the Electoral Corpses, robbed them, and took away the Coffins of Pewter; and where they ravished the Women, even Girls of eight or nine Years old, besides innumerable Murders, Robberies, and Combustions, unheard of before, and almost incredible?

#### LEWIS.

Murder and Combustion are oftentimes called Raison de Guerre: To the other Cruelties I gave no Orders: The Soldier is sometimes an ungovernable Horse, and 'tis impossible to answer for all his perverse Actions: I can only assure you that I never heard the true Account of those Barbarities: otherwise I had not failed to punish such daring and malicious Offenders.

#### LEOPOLD.

Why have you forgot to mention the Troubles occasion'd by the Huguenots of the Cevennes in Languedoc, against whom you were forc'd to send 15, nay, 20000 Men to keep them in awe?

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LEWIS.

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#### LEWIS.

I don't care to remember such things, but must own that this Rebellion was the Fruit of the religious Persecutions. The Camissards were all new Converts, and gave me Business enough; for I am asham'd to rehearse how I was forced, Anno 1705, to come to an Accord with the Cavalier their Commander and Leader, who was only a Baker's Journeyman, and to grant him a free and honourable Retreat out of France. Meer Fortune played with this Fellow; for he had not a Grain of Wit, nor any Conduct; which at the Battle of Almanza in Spain plainly appeared, where he commanded a Regiment (intrusted to him by the Dutch) in such a silly manner, that they were all cut in Pieces. At present he is in England, has married and settled there, and still enjoys a yearly Pension.

#### LEOPOLD.

Please to tell me a little of your Intrigues at the OTTOMAN Port; for tis known that you and the SULTAN were always particular Friends.

#### LEWIS.

My Friendship with the Port was very necessary and convenient for me, by reason of the Trade my Merchants had in Turkey, and particularly in Egypt; yet 'tis also true, that, Anno 1683, I animated the Turks against you, and in some measure enter'd into a Confederacy with them: But during the last War, I sound it impossible to draw them forth against you: If they had not been so stubborn and inexorable, perhaps the whole Face of Affairs had been changed on my Side, and you had been a second Time drove from VIENNA.

#### LEOPOLD.

I suppose you have forgot your Intrigues in POLAND.

#### LEWIS.

I own, indeed, that when the late King Sobiesky married a French Lady, I flatter'd my self with having gained already my Point, and did not doubt but after his Decease I should advance a Frenchman to that Throne, who, when the Dance for the Spanish Bride should begin, could light a good Flambeau for my Interest, suppose, to raise a War the same time against you. The Prince de Contiwas my Man, whom I design'd after the Demise of Sobiesky for the Polish Throne; and certainly my Party was very strong: But Fortune savour'd Frederick Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, who obtain'd that Crown, and Conti was forced to retire with all Speed.

LEOPOLD.

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Now please to give me Leave to ask you, upon what Footing was your Correspondence with Sweden?

#### LEWIS.

The Situation of our Dominions requires that the Kings of France and Sweden be always in a good Alliance: But 'tis very unhappy that Sweden is a Country where' Money is very scarce, and France is ever obliged to remit great Sums of Money thither, and likewise to fill the Purses of their Senators and Grandees, in order to obtain their enterprizing of any thing in Favour of France, tho' very often those Sums are not well employ'd: For Example, when I was in hopes that the King of Sweden with his Army in Saxony would break with your Son Joseph, and for that purpose employ'd great Sums of Louis d'Ores to gain his Ministers, I found my self at last betray'd: For Charles to gain his Ministers, I found my self at last betray'd: For Charles XII. enter'd into amicable Treaties as soon as it was promised to restore the Churches taken from the Protestants in Silesia. Nevertheless, I own that Sweden, to please me, and to give me some Satisfaction for my Money, often made a Diversion in my Behalf, so that my Enemies could not ast against me with such a Force as they design'd.

#### LEOPOLD.

I had almost forgot to ask you about your Favourite my Rebel Ragotay.

Pray how much has he cost you?

#### LEWIS.

Indeed many Millions; but the Services he has done me are important enough too: For you, and after your Demise, your Son Joseph, were obliged to keep constantly in Pay twenty odd thousand Soldiers in Hungary against him. Alas! if you could have employ'd those Troops against me, what should I have done? Ragorzy enjoyed till my Death an annual Pension of me of 100000 Livres, which, as I believe, he still receives. But when seven Years ago he came to Paris, he had an Invention to get Money, by which he got at least 100000 Louis d'Ores. I assign'd him a Palace in the Suburbs of St. Germain, and another in the Village of Chailloit, when he beg'd Leave that the Play at Cards call'd Lansquenet might be permitted at his Palaces, which I had forbidden under great Penalties, and which formerly had got in among great Families as a Plague. This Grant occasion'd daily Assemblies there, and he sold every Pack of Cards for a Louis d'Or, by which he provided himself very well.

#### LEOPOLD.

You have mentioned nothing of your Fear upon the Invasion in Provence, and the Enterprize upon Toulon, Anno 1707. How was it then with you?

# LEWIS.

Not well, as you may easily judge; for I had no Rest nor Sleep; and my Fear caused many Drops of Sweat to run down my Face. But when the Courier came with the News that the Allies were upon the Retreat, and had raised the Siege, it was as if a Stone of a thousand hundred Weight had been taken from off my Breast.

#### LEOPOLD.

Pray is it also true that in the several Courts of Europe you brib'd the Ministers and Generals, in Time both of War and Peace, in order to communicate to you all the Secrets of their Masters?

# LEWIS.

to give me fome Satisfaction

This I did masterly practise; and without those Crasts I should have often miscarried in my Projects. In Time of Peace I bought and brib'd them by my Ambassadors and Envoys; many also did offer themselves voluntarily.

#### I and almost forcer to as D. L. Don O I von icony Rolls band I

Please to confess honestly; have you not endeavour'd to poison some Princes or Potentates? and was not the same attempted upon me?

# indeed many Millsons; but . 8rd Wrated he has done me are important

This Art was not wholly unknown at my Court. But as to your felf, Dearest Leopold, I never design'd it, I assure you.

# LEOPOLD.

Why mention'd you nothing in your History of your new France in

# LEWIS.

They say that my Provinces and Islands in America are in a very sourishing Condition; they have cost me vast Sums, and great Levies of Men and Women, which I transported thither. But those Dominions at such a great Distance I did not much affect; and having passionately lov'd nearer Conquests, my Neighbours have Reason to thank God that my Projects shipwreckt, and that they were not wholly swallowed up by my Ambition.

LEOPOLD.

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# LEOPOLD.

Pray disclose to me the true Reason why you agreed to the last Peace with my Son CHARLES, having only had him alone against you.

#### LEWIS.

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The Nervus verum gerendarum, War's great Sinew, was exhausted, and I wanted Time to recollect my self again. The Bills I had paid instead of ready Money quite ruin'd my Bankers, and created great Disturbances in France. The Wars had tired me out; and, after all, if I had been obstinate in improving my Advantages, I had Reason to sear that other Powers would again enter into Alliance with your Son against me: Besides, I was satisfy'd that my Grandson Philip would keep his Ground in Spain, tho' in the Peace of Rastad no Mention thereof was made. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were to be restored in integrum. And I procured a new Business for the Dutch, concerning the Barriers: I kept Landau, and did not much care for the other Fortresses, which I either surrender'd or demolish'd.

# LEOPOLD.

But what's the Reason that you are not well pleased with your Cousin the Duke of Orleans?

#### LEWIS.

Because he would not be bound to my Testament, which was so disposed, that in case the young King should die, Philip of Spain, notwithstanding his Renunciation, should succeed to France, and the two Kingdoms should be united and govern'd by him: But the Duke of Orleans, by his arrogated absolute Power, made himself so many Creatures, that he could easily maintain the Right he had got by Philip's Renunciation, and the Treaty of Utrecht. But that Philip should never succeed, was certainly quite contrary to all my Views.

Pray, Dearest LEOPOLD, will you now be pleased to rehearse your History?

LEOPOLD.

I'll fatisfy you presently, tho' my History shall not be so long as yours. I was born Anno 1640, crowned King of Hungary 1655, and King of Bohemia 1656; and Anno 1658, when my Father Ferdinand III. died, I was chosen EMPEROR of the Romans.

I came into the World with two little Locks of Hair upon my Head, which they look'd upon to be ominous, as if by the one the Turkish Sultan, and by the other you as King of France, should pull me; which also happened.

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In my tender Youth I was much inclin'd to Prayers and the Fear of God, and had also a great Disposition to my Studies, and much lov'd what belong'd to Learning, which with my growing Age did rather increase than diminish; insomuch that every Day I employ'd about eight Hours in Devotion, and in reading learned Books.

I never coveted other Princes Dominions, nor ever intended to wrong the German PRINCES of their Privileges, nor design'd any Injustice to any Person whatsoever: So that if any body had Reason to complain, he might be assured the Fault was not mine, but to be attributed to some of my Ministers, in whom I trusted too much.

I was full of excessive Joy when, Anno 1658, only by my Exhortations I mediated a Peace between Denmark and Sweden; so that an End to all Hostilities was put by the Treaties of Roschild and Copenhagen; and was much more pleased when I contributed something, tho' only by using the Pen, to the Peace of Olive, between Poland, Sweden, and Brandenburg; for by that the faid Republick, which had suffered so very much, was enabled to recollect her self again. The Year before, viz. 1659, when you concluded the Pyrenean Peace, and got for your Booty the INFANTA MARIA THERESIA of Spain, I advis'd King PHILIPIV. of Spain, that by no means he would confent to the Match, tho' the Renunciation was brought upon the Tapestry; for you had shew'd already, even so early, your Designs, and that you would find out something to make void the said Renunciation, from whence nothing but bloody Wars could arife. But the Answer was this: PHILIP had caused the Spanish Crown and Scepter to be laid in a Closet upon a Table, and over against it put your Picture; upon which he called the INFANTA, in order to give her the Choice of the Crown and Scepter, or of your Person, with this Provision or Reservation, that in case she should choose you for her Husband, she was obliged to renounce the Crown and Scepter of Spain, the Reasons of State requiring it, not otherwise. But if she should choose the Crown and Scepter instead of you, there was no doubt but an agreeable Spouse for her would, in good time, present himself; and who, perhaps, would not be so detrimental to the common Quiet of Europe. But the INFANTA would renounce for her self and her Issue for ever the Crown of Spain, and all its GLORY, rather than lose you; and you also offering your self to join in this eternal Renunciation, it was not convenient to refuse you the faid Princess, especially seeing by that Match Love and Peace was to be restored.

Nor did it seem reasonable then to fear that such a sacred Renunciation, either by you, or your Posterity, under what Pretext soever, could be broke

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Obligation to you for this Renunciation; for otherwise they would never have been born, and therefore the more bound to the Condition under which they were begotten.

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All this apparently seemed to be good enough to perswade every body to the Validity of this Renunciation; but in your Ears these were no more than wain Words; for you had no sooner got the Spanish Infanta, but immediately you began to frame Projects for obtaining the Spanish Monarchy, for which you have raised many great Wars, and have been the Author of such a horrid shedding of Christian Blood.

In the Year 1660 the Turks attack'd the Prince RAGOTZY in Transilvania, conquer'd that Principality, went so far into Hungary as Neuhausel, and took many fine Places, with several considerable Advantages; till by my Victory over them at St. Gothard's, Anno 1664, they were frightened to make a Truce with me for twenty Years. Indeed I should have profited more by their Fear, and have well prosecuted my Victory, but for the Generals who commanded your 8000 Men in this Battel, whose Conduct in the Army was disorderly and fractious: And, besides this, your discovering already what Flames you design'd to kindle in Europe, partly forced me nolens volens to accept of the said Truce.

Anno 1670, a great Conspiracy against me in Hungary was discover'd; upon which I arrested several great Men there, and had them tried. Afterwards the Jesuits perswaded me to a Resormation in that Kingdom, and in Silesia too, whereby many were imbitter'd and exasperated against me.

I banish'd also the Jews out of Vienna, my Residence; but it was not long before they found the way thither again.

Anno 1672, you openly discovered your Project to establish an universal Monarchy, and to subdue the World under your Yoke; when first you attack'd Holland with all your Might, designing to devour it at once, for which you had artfully formed several Alliances: Then was I necessitated to take care with Spain and other Powers to preserve the Ballance of Europe; and, to oppose your Fury, was forced to fight and struggle with you till Anno 1678, when the Peace at NIMEGUEN was made; and I must confess, that all the while, Fortune savoured you very much-

About this Time Count TEKELI in Hungary rebelled against me, having been brought to it, no doubt, by the abovesaid hard Reformation; and when you saw that this Rebellion, and that a new Flame kindling in TURKEY, afforded

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me Business enough, you knowing well how to fish in troubled Waters, then established those two renowned Courts or Chambers of Re-union at Meez and Breysach, and thereby took STRASBOURG away.

The Fire at last slamed forth in Hungary: Great was the Number of the Rebels, and the Turks mustering like the Sand of the Ocean, impetuously over-flowed and conquered most of that Kingdom, and push'd even to Vienna, my Capital, which they besieged Anno 1683, and had almost got it.

When the Report of the approaching Turks came to VIENNA, I was forced to think of my own Safety, by removing from thence: And when I was actually ready to depart, I had a great Desire to go once more to Mass there, and to recommend to God my Concerns before I left that Place. But the Mass was hardly begun, when my General MONTECUCULICame in great hurry, and said, If your Majesty has no mind to fall into the Hands of the Tartars, which two Miles from hence, at Schwacher, are already to be seen in great Numbers, you must depart with all imaginable Speed. Notwithstanding this, I was resolved to stay till the Mass and Divine Service were finished: But by Advice of several of my saithful Ministers, I immediately lest Vienna; and its certain the Tartars were close behind me for many Miles.

Twent to Tyrol, where I soon heard that the Turks had opened Trenches before Vienna, and the Siege actually was begun: But I was easy, by the particular good Considence I had in the commanding General the Count of Stareneer, that he would well observe his Duty; and the Event discovered I was not mistaken in him. Mean while I neglected not to send many Couriers and Messengers to every Place to sollicit for speedy Succours. John, King of Poland, the heroick and valiant Electors of Saxony, Brandenbourg and Bavaria; nay, the whole Empire delay'd not to assist me in my Anxiety and Extremity; till at last an Army of 80000 Men was gathered; the Poles being commanded by their King, and the rest by the courageous Duke of Lorrani was successfully undertaken.

Tho' the Turks, during that Siege of two Months, had lost by their many Assaultings and frequent Sicknesses more than 40000 Men, yet they were still 150000 effective Men strong at raising the Siege: So that this Victory ought especially to be ascribed to the immediate Divine Providence; and for which Reason, two Days after the Battel, as soon as I arrived at Vienna, I ordered that God should be thanked for it, by singing the Te Deum.

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It was reckon'd that the Loss of the Turks, Dead, Prisoners, and Wounded, upon the raising of the Siege, amounted to 15000 Men; and the Christians lost not so much as 5000, the Wounded being counted amongst them.

But the Enemies had the greatest Loss upon their Retreat; for they wander'd so much from one another, and scatter'd in such a manner, that they were every where cut in Pieces; and it was impossible for them to gain afterwards any one Battel; for they were every where deseated, by the Duke of Lorran In, Prince Lewis of Baden, the Elector of Bavaria, this King of Poland Frederick August, then Elector of Saxony, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, in many bloody Battels; of which that near Santa, under the Command of Eugene, was the chief; for there the Sultan himself was Eye-witness, that more than 35000 of his Men were partly cut in Pieces, or made Prisoners, or drowned.

PRINCE EUGENE hazarded this Battel against the Orders I had given him, and was therefore much envied by the old Generals; particularly by Caprara, who accused him of an inconsiderate Boldness; and they went so far, as to endeavour to perswade me to hold a Court Martial upon him: But I absolved him with these Words, viz. He has hazarded a Battel against my Order, but not before he observed a visible and great Advantage over the Enemy. Be it far from me to destroy that Instrument which God hath made use of in giving me such a Glorious Victory.

The Fortresses the Turks had hitherto possess'd were all taken from them with the utmost Vigor; and, at last, Hungary and Transilvania were deliver'd of those Barbarians, who were then forced to agree to the Peace at Carlowitz. If now, Dear Lewis, you had not begun a new War, Anno 1688, under the Colour of a Pretension upon the Palatinate, and had not endeavour'd to turn all Germany Topsy Turvy, and consequently provoked the Empire to sight against you, until the Peace of Ryswick, and to take by Force the Places you had conquered, viz. Mayence, Philipsburg; Kayserswarth, and many more, the Mahometans should have found much worse Treatment; but they ought to thank you for it, that still they got off so well.

After the Peace of Ryswick and Carlowitz, I was in hopes to enjoy my felf quietly; but you were again bufy about great Preparations for War, which I had Reason to suspect; consequently, I could not disband one single Man of all my Troops, but was rather obliged to keep them compleat; which Precaution afterwards turn'd to a very good Account.

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The latter end of the Year 1700 died at last CHARTES II. King of Spain, and I in Justice and Equity, being Heir to that Monarchy, should have succeeded. But I sound my self betray'd; for you play'd the prevenire in such a manner, that before I was aware of it, your Grandson the DUKE of Anjou made his Entry into Madrid, and was acknowledg'd by you and many other Powers of Europe as King of Spain; and by the Elector of Bavaria, the Spanish Netherlands (of which he was Governour) were delivered to your Circular Auxiliary Troops of Burgundy, as you call'd them. You had likewise gain'd the Prince of Vaudemont, Governour of the Dutchy of Milan; and every Enterprize succeeded so well to your Desire, that I had not a Spot of Ground of all the Spanish Monarchy.

In this Condition I held a Council to deliberate what Measures to take in my Affairs, and resolved at last to support my just Pretensions Sword in Hand. To this Effect, I fent my valiant Eugene into Italy with an Army of 29 or 30000 Men, who, after he had passed the Alps with the utmost Prudence, and in Paths never known or traced before with an Army, and had descended into the Plains, gave Battel to you and your Ally the Duke of Savor, tho' you were much superior to him in Numbers, insomuch that you'll never forget it. Your Mareschal CATTINAT felt Eugene's brave Courage, particularly in the Battel of Carpi; as did VILLEROY, and the DUKE of Savoy, in the Battel near Chiari: And on the first of February, 1702, PRINCE EUGENE play'd your Favourite the Mareschal de Villeroy fuch a Trick, that in Eternity will never be forgotten; for he fetch'd him out of CREMONA, a well fortify'd Town, and so bravely charged the Garrison of 8000 Men, with only 3000 of his Men, about the Space of eight Hours, that the Garrison could hardly maintain the Town, but were forced to let PRINCE EUGENE march off in the finest Order: And tho' afterwards you gave the Command to your renowned VENDOME, he was also beaten by my Eugene near Luzara. Of which glorious Victory the DUKE d'ANJOU himself had the Honour to be Witness, with the Duke of MANTUA, who had delivered into your Hands all his Dominions.

ENGLAND, HOLLAND, and PORTUGAL, soon after I appeared against you, came to be my Allies; for the two first Powers had only congratulated your Anjou out of Policy, not being ready, so soon as the Notification came to them, to put themselves in a Posture of Desence against your Assaults, which they had Cause to sear: Tho' of this their political Trick I was not well apprized at first, and therefore was very uneasy about it.

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When those Powers had declared themselves for me, and that in Italy every thing went on successfully, Assairs came to have quite another Face; and tho' you had got the Elector of Cologne on your Side, who had delivered his Fortresses into your Possession, yet the Dutch took Kayserswarth, Bon, Liege, and other Places; and I took Landau in Alsatia.

All this was done Anno 1701, and 1702. And tho' the Death of the renowned WILLIAM King of GREAT-BRITAIN feemed to create new Confusions in Europe; and tho' the ELECTOR of Bavaria had declared himself for you, and thereby had raised Fears, Frights and Disorders in Franconia, and Suabia, continuing also to have good Success till the end of the Year 1703, (for he went into the Principality of Tyrol, and fish'd away Inspruck, Kuffstein, Ehrenberg, and other considerable Places, and with the Assistance of your Troops, that penetrated thro' the Black Forrest to join him, did surprize and beat Count STYRUM near Hochstadt, and had further snatched away Kempien, Newbourg, Ratisbon, and at last even Aug spourg and Passau): Nay, and tho' RAGOTZY in Hungary (after his wicked Design to carry me and all my Family alive away, or else to murder us, had been detected) excited a dangerous Rebellion, in which he was affisted by you with Money, Officers and Arms: Nevertheless, the whole Scene of Affairs changed in my Favour after the Battels at Schellenbergh, and at HOCHSTADT, Anno 1704; when, particularly in the last, your and the Bavarian Troops were totally defeated, and your scatter'd Remains forced to take the shortest way to Alsatia, and to leave behind your Marshal de TALLARD with 15000 Men Prisoners. You and Bavaria lost at least in the said Battel 26000 Men, and more than 18000 run away, and were perhaps murdered by the Boors in the Black Forrest, before they could reach Alsatia. After this, Ulm and Landau were retaken, which last you had took from me the Year before by your TALLARD, who at the same time did defeat the approaching Succours near Speyerbach.

There was much Bloodshed in haly too the same Year; for the Duke of Savor had left you the Year before, and joined with me; and after this glorious Campaign, all Bavaria surrender'd itself to me, and Treves and Traerbach were recovered from yor.

At last, while, Anno 1705, I was making new Preparations for a vigorous-Campaign, I fell sick, and died with the greatest Ease, and with a joyful Mind changed my vain terrestrial CROWNS for the Heavenly and ETERNAL one, aged 65 Years and some Weeks; after I had reigned as Emperor 47. Years.

I was three times in my Life a Bridegroom: The first time I married the INFANTA of Spain, MARGARETHA THERESIA, your Wife's Sister, Anno 1666; by whom I had a Princess, afterwards married to the Elector of BAVARIA, still living; who had a Prince, which if he had lived, and had not been killed by Art, would have been King of SPAIN, whereby much Christian Blood would have been saved.

After the Decease of this my Spanish Wife, I married, 1673, the second time, CLAUDIA FELICITAS of Inspruck, related to me in the second Degree. I had no Children by her, for the died too foon; and the fame Year did I marry, the third time, ELEONORA MAGDALENA, of the House of NEUBOURG; by whom I had five Children, viz. JOSEPH, who was my Successor to the Imperial Crown; 2. CHARLES, to whom I transfer'd, Anno 1703, my Right to the Spanish Monarchy, and fent him thither to take Possession thereof, who also at present fills the Place of the late Joseph in the Imperial Throne; 3. MARIA ELIZABETHA, one of the still unmarried Arch-dutchesses; 4. MARIA ANNA, the present reigning Queen in PORTUGAL; and, 5. MARIA MAGDALENA, who likewise is still unmarried. Of these three Wives I used to say, that I had in the first an Empress, by reason of her Gravity; in the second a Mistress, by reason of her Sweetness, and pleasing Temper; and in the third a true and good Wife, because of the great Confidence and Trust I had and could safely place in her, and becanfe of the feveral Children I had by her. When, Anno 1690, I perceived that here and there you recommended your Dauphin to the ELECTORS of the Empire to be chosen King of the ROMANS; and did promise many great Advantages to them for the Empire, I convocated them to Augspourg, and got them to choose my eldest Prince Josephus.

In the Year 1692, by my Favour, the House of Hanover obtain'd the Electoral Dignity, to which the Almighty now has joined the Crown of Great-Britain: And, Anno 1701, I agreed that Frederick III. the wise Elector of Branden be our of the Growned King of Prussia. I undertook and observed every thing that belong'd to Piety and Religion; especially to that in which I was brought up, as in the beginning of my History has been said already. The Clergy, and particularly the Jesuits, had, I own, too much Influence with me, and perswaded me often to things to which otherwise I was not much inclined.

I built many Churches and Cloisters, did provide them plentifully with Revenues; but the Revenues of my Exchequer did wonderfully decrease.

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World, I might not grow too proud; and for that Reason I very seldom dress'd my self magnificently, but rather appeared always in a simple and plain Suit. Notwithstanding this, I never suffer'd the Imperial Dignity to be in any manner neglected or abused, but defended and kept her, as a Jewel lodged with me, with the utmost Power.

The first News I received after my Death was, that my Corpse had been deposited with great Pomp and Magnificence in the Church of the Capuchines in the New-Market at VIENNA, and the Funeral foon after had been celebrated in the Auliek Church of the Augustines, with special Solemnities, and many thousand Masses had been read for me. I understood fince, from time to time, by the Deceased, or by Princes and Generals kill'd in Battels and Expeditions, that the War was successfully carried on against you, and that my Son Joseph had taken Comachio from the PopE, and brought him to Reason, the had threatened my Son with the Clatican Chunder and Lightning; I mean the BANN, or Excommunication. And when my faid Son Tofeph left the World, and came here into the Realms of Death, he told me all that had happened, with every Circumstance; particularly that until his Decease you had been kept every where warm enough; that you had further lost many capital Battels, viz. at Turin, Rammellies, Audenard, Malplaquet, with a good Number of strong Fortresses; whereof I think fit only to name Life, Tournay, Doway, Mons, and Aire. That in Catalonia you had in vain besieged BARCELONA, wherein my Son CHARLES commanded all the while, by reason of the brave March of the Earl of Peterborough; and that by the Invasion into Provence, and the Siege of Toulon, you had been frightened almost out of your Wits. Nor am I ignorant of the Conferences you had procured from a false Design at the Hague, and at Gertruydenberg; but I was always in hopes that, after so many Advantages obtained, the just Cause would be victorious, and my Son CHARLES would obtain the Spanish Crown. Nevertheless, soon after I heard the surprizing News of the sudden Change of Affairs from your Dauphin, who, not long after Foseph. appeared here amongst the Dead: He assured me, that a few Days before he departed, he had seen a Project of Peace made between you and some British Ministers; according to the Tenor of which, a constant and general Peace should be made, provided his Son A N J o u should keep the Spanish Throne; infomuch, that when the rest of the Allies would not be satisfy'd therewith, GREAT-BRITAIN was resolved to patch up a particular Peace; yea, to act against some or other Powers that should be against it. I hardly could believe this at first, and took it for a vexatious Invention of your Dauphin, in order to grieve me therewith. But it was not long before I was convinced of the Truth of it, and obliged to acknowledge that your Dauphin was honest,

honest, and incapable of lying and diffembling; for we had fundry News that the Congress at UTRECHT was actually begun: And the Allies once again had appeared with a great Army in Flanders, and had the best Opportunities to attack and defeat your Troops; it was nevertheless contradicted by the English, who then, instead of the brave Duke of MARLBOROUGH, were commanded by the Duke of ORMOND, who had discovered all the Designs and Views of the Allies to your General VILLARS. We understood further that the English had actually published the Truce, and separated themselves from the rest of the Army, endeavouring, tho' in vain, to draw with them all the German Croops in English Pay: That upon this, the Mareschal de VILLARS, who by English Correspondence had the best Notice of every thing out of the Camp of the Allies, had fallen upon my Lord ALBEMARLE near Denain with a strong Body of Men, and defeated him; and that thereupon the Magazine at Marchienne, the Towns of Quesnoy, Douay, Bouchain, and several other Places conquered a few Weeks before, had been lost again, and Prince Eugene put out of Condition to stop those Progresses, or to undertake further any thing of Importance. At last we had the News that the particular Peace with ENGLAND was published: That the DUTCH, PORTUGAL and SAVOY, had done the same; which last had got most by it, in fnatching the Kingdom of SICILY away; and that my Son CHARLES, who had mounted the Imperial Throne, was engaged alone in War against you. The miserable Condition of Germany, and your Progresses in the Campaign of Anno 1713, and the Peace at last concluded at RADSTADT in March 1714, were likewise soon reported here to me; and I was in part satisfy'd therewith, when I heard that CHARLES was not obliged to renounce the Monarchy of Spain, and to acknowledge the Duke of ANJOU as its King.

Since that Time, I have been much rejoiced here in the Bealms of Death, and this happy ETERNITY, with many important and agreeable The Turks having reposed a great while, have declared War against the VENETIANS, and did, Anno 1715, attack them with such Vigour and Success, that the whole Kingdom of MOREA was lost in a few Weeks, whereby all Italy was in Danger to be attack'd and deftroy'd by the Turks: That in this Anxiety the Republick of VENICE had taken her Recourse to my Son, and defired him to enter into an Alliance with her; and that the POPE likewise had solicited him continually to declare War against those Infidels. Now as CHARLES could not permit nor condescend that the Turks should ruin the Venetians, nor even be insensible of the Danger Italy was in, so he resolved upon a War with the Port; and the Pope, for supporting that War, did allow to collect the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Estates. My Son therefore armed himself considerably by Water and Land, insomuch that no Emperor before him ever had fuch a Quantity of Men of War and Ships upon the Danube, nor such a numerous Army in Hungary, with which whi Me into of t is a have

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which he beat the Turks in two Campaigns, tho' they had always 200,000 Men in the Field against him; and it seems that the Porr is thereby put into great Distress: But let their Condition be as it will, 'tis certainly none of the best; for tho' they should venture some Campaigns, Fear and Fright is already among them, and it will be very difficult to recover what they have lost already.

The first Battel happen'd the 15th of August 1716, and the Fortress of Temeswar, which had been in Possession of the Turks 164 Years, was gained by that Victory. The next Year, 1717, did my Son Charles send his Grand Captain the Prince Eugene early to the Camp with an Army of 120000 Men; which passing the Danube, besieged the most strong Fortress of Belgrade in Servia. The massacred Major-General Maroil Ly, and Colonel Heister, have told me that the taking of Posto was very hot Business, and all Turkish Sallies have been very bloody on both Sides: But when the Turkish Army, consisting of 200,000 Men, approach'd to the Relief of Belgrade, they were attack'd by the Heroick Eugene in their Advantages, beaten, chased, and destroyed, and that important Place was forced to capitulate, and to surrender; upon which the Turks lest several more considerable Places, and are now removed farther than twenty-sive German Miles from the Hungarian Frontiers.

Of the Increase of the Imperial Family I had the most agreeable News too; for instead of the many Complaints of the Empress's Barrenness, I heard that, Anno 1716, she was deliver'd of the first Prince, which, to the great Grief of Germany, is now enroll'd in our happy Number. She has had since a Princess, Anno 1717; and they say that now she is big with Child again, of which I hope I shall soon have the Consirmation. What Uneasiness hath since happened to the House of Austria, is, that your Grandson the Duke d'Anjou has attack'd and conquer'd the Island of Sardin in the Mediterranean, and is now resolved to insult the Kingdom of Naples too, and will act in Conjunction with other Italian Princes against my Son Charles, But Time will discover how they proceed in their Designs.

# LEWIS.

Dearest Leopold, I have heard your Story with the utmost Pleasure: But as you thought fit, for the better Explanation of my History, to ask me some Questions, you won't take it amiss that I desire some Explanations of you too. Pray tell me what is particularly the Right and Authority that an Emperor has over the German Dinces?

#### LEOPOLD.

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An Emperor is always chosen of the Electors, and crowned with great Pomp and Grandeur, and is bound to his Elective Capitulation. The Fiefs of the Empire are received kneeling from him, and he is supreme Arbitrator of any Quarrels that may happen in the Empire: In case he should be engaged in Wars with foreign Powers, whereby the Empire's Sasety might be in Danger, he is assisted by the States with Money and Men; that Part which most of the German Princes took against you in the late Wars, and the Roman Month, which they contributed to the last War with the Turks, are infallible Witnesses thereof.

#### LEWIS.

Your Answer is well disposed; tho' I should like some further Explanations of this Article. But we will let it alone for this Time; and you will oblige me if you will only tell how many Troops you always had of your own when you was strongest.

#### LEOPOLD.

Never above 70000; but my Son the present Emperor CHARLES VI. can easily muster 150000. But he has more Dominions too; for he possesses the Kingdom of NAPLES, the Dutchy of MILAN, MANTUA, MIRANDOLA, the Coast of Tuscany, and all the Spanish NETHERLANDS, of which Provinces I had not a Spot of Ground. And besides this, he takes the most exact and particular Care and Pains of his Government, and regulates his Forces always according to the Junctures of Time, and the Necessity of the Affairs he has to undertake.

# LEWIS.

What is the Reason then that an EMPEROR does not make a greater Figure in the World when he appears in publick; and why are there not so many fine Coaches and Liveries seen at your Court as at others?

# LEOPOLD.

It is a Maxim, that an EMPEROR in his own Person should shew always Humility, to be the more agreeable in the Eyes of the Almighty. But who can say that there is not Magnificence enough to be seen at Vienna? For the Princes, Ministers, Counts and Lords that reside there, always appear in the most splendid Manner. But who would behold what Pomp there is at the Imperial Court, must come there on a Galla-Day, and then judge of it.

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# LEWIS.

Pray what signify the Imperial Diets? For what use are they kept? And why has this present Diet already subsisted 50 years?

#### LEOPOLD.

It was order'd, Anno 1662, upon account of the War with the Turks, and of other critical Junctures: Many things can be speedily transacted at a Diet, which, if they should be sent to each Electoral, or Ducal Court, would take up more Time: Besides, many Complaints, and likewise religious Assairs, can be more safely and finally decided and determined there.

#### LEWIS.

But how comes it that notwithstanding all such Deliberation, there is always so much Time lost before they come to a Conclusion?

### LEOPOLD.

Many Heads, many Senses. The many different Views and Designs of the Imperial States in religious and State Assairs are the Cause of those Delays.

#### LEWIS.

Pray tell me now, if an EMPEROR and all the States of the Empire were unanimous, so that they could be compared to one Head under one Hat; how many Forces then could they raise?

# LEOPOLD.

If ever such a Harmony should be in the Empire, they could easily bring

### LEWIS.

If so, then the Neighbours of Germany have no Reason to wish such a Unity: On the contrary, Disputes and different Designs in the Empire are best for them. But what's become of the samous Count Tekeli, who was the Cause of so many Vexations in Hungary?

#### LEOPOLD.

How can you thus interrogate? It cannot be unknown to you, by reason of the Correspondence you have always had with him. He died in Asia, at a Place which the Turks had assigned him in Exile.

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#### LEWIS.

Will you be so kind as to tell me the Origin or Beginning of the Rebellion of RAGOTZY? Tis true, I have had much Business with him; but 'tis not unlikely that some of his Intrigues are unknown to me.

#### LEOPOLD.

He would have again in Possession the Principality of TRANSYLVANIA, which his Father was posses'd of: But the Turks took it from him, and I took it from the Turks; so that Jure Belli it belong'd to me. But when he saw he could not succeed, he feign'd Obedience, and seemed to be quiet and easy, offering to levy 6000 Men in Hungary, who, after they had been reviewed by me and all my Family near Vienna, were to go against you into Italy. I was pleas'd with that Offer, and promis'd him again many Favours and Kindnesses. But this deceitful Man had quite another Design; for he was resolved to seize or massacre me and all my Family at such a Review; and when this Design was timely discovered, I had him arrested, and sent him to Newstadt, eight little Miles from Vienna, into Prison. But while I delay'd his Trial, he brib'd Captain Lehman, who commanded the Guard, and so escaped; and the said Captain, not so fortunate, when he was just attempting his Escape, was seized by his own Subaltern, a Corporal, and atterwards beheaded. RAGOTZY then blew up the great Fire of Rebellion very foon in Hungary, which has been so very detrimental to me, and so very advantageous to you, and not sooner extinguish'd than after the Death of my Son Joseph, viz. 1711. And when he was no longer fafe in Hungary, he retired to you in France, and is now, as I perceive, at Constantinople, where he gives Hopes to the Port to excite a new Rebellion in Hungary; but perhaps he may not fucceed.

# LEWIS.

Pray tell me at last why you did not send your Son the Archduke CHARLES to Madrid some Years before CHARLES II. of SPAIN died, in order to gain the Grandees, and to be at hand to take and maintain the Possession of that Monarchy?

# LEOPOLD.

He was fickly, and Reasons were then suggested for avoiding of Poison, and other Dangers. It is much better to be now adorned with the Imperial Crown, than that he should have been a Sacrifice to his Enemies bloody Ambition. We have now talk'd enough of our own and our Successors Histories, and of the UPPER WORLD's being to subject to Alterations; let us hear a little of the latest News from thence, and call a Secretary to read the mof Aect

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LEOPOLD had no sooner spoken it, when a Secretary appeared, to whom Mercury had given a Packet of News; and Leopold desiring Lewis XIV. to sit down with him upon a fine Green adorn'd with Flowers, order'd the Secretary to read; who with an intelligible Voice thus began.

#### SECRETARY.

ROME. The Differences between the POPE and the Imperial Court are not yet adjusted. But Count GALLAS, the Emperor's Ambassador, having had yesterday an Audience of his Popish Holiness, we flatter our selves that an Agreement will soon be made between these two Courts; and that, on the contrary, much greater Differences may arise between the Court of Rome, and that of Spain.

# LEOPOLD.

The POPE never will, nor can omit playing his Tricks. He has folicited my Son CHARLES very much to declare War against the Turks, and to take the Part of the anxious Venetians, as well as of Italy, then in the utmost Danger. When my Son resolved to comply with this Request, the POPE consented, to enable him the better to bear the heavy Charges of that War, to raise the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Revenues; and at the same time solicits SPAIN to equip some Gallies and Men of War to reinforce the Navy of the Venetians, and consented for that purpose, that the Spaniards might also raise the Ecclesiastical Tithes. But pray where is here the just Proportion? For all the World knows, the Tithes of the Spanish Ecclesiastical Revenues are considerable enough to equip and maintain a whole Fleet, instead of a few Gallies, or flight Men of War. The Duke d'Anjou has well known how to improve the License thus obtain'd from the Pope. For tho' in the Year 1716 he sent a couple of Gallies and Men of War against the Turks; yet in the Year 1717 last past he equip'd a whole Fleer, and embark'd so many Troops as were requisite to invade Sardinia, and to garrison those Islands, as appears by his Success. After which he entertain'd no more Thoughts of sending Succours for the common Cause against the Turks; yet the POPE was very silent, till at last CHARLES laid his just Complaints before him: Upon which his Polineis wrote a sham Letter to the Duke d'Anjou, reproaching him a little, that by his Enterprize on Sardinia the Infidels had obtained some Advantages: But CHARLES knows very well that the Pope would be mightily pleased to have him again intirely turned out of Italy; and that, not without his Knowledge and Consent, have the Spaniards attack'd Sardinia: Nay, 'tis well known that the Pope's Nuncio at Naples has enter'd into a fecret Correspondence with the Enemies of Charles, who for this Reason has notify'd to

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the NUNCTO at Vienna and at Naples to remove thence. The Dunciature in Naples is especially very dangerous, for they will always meddle with the Affairs of State: So that it is not advisable for a King of Naples to suffer the POPE to dispose of all Ecclesiastical Places and Benefits, to which he often appoints Foreigners, and generally such as are never well affected to the House of Austria. Now my Son CHARLES VI. demanded that the Pope, First, should oblige the Duke d'Anjou to return back, or give up the Eccle fiastical Tithes, which, instead of using them against the Turks, he has employed against the Christians. Secondly, Not to permit that such Tithes be further received. And Thirdly, That he should cite the Cardinal ALBERONI to Rome, in order to answer for his Conduct. But the Popenot agreeing to any of them, and the Nuncio at Naples having kept a Correspondence with Charles's Enemies, my Son has let him know that for the future he would allow of no more Millillo's there; declaring at the fame time, that those, whom the POPE shall presume to appoint to Ecclefiastical Benefices or Places in that Kingdom, shall not be accepted, nor as such be recognized. Since that Time, it seems the POPE has tuned softer, and dissembles as if he had a mind to favour the Imperial Court; because Count Gallas, who was on his Journey to Naples, is come back to Rome, and has frequent Audiences. But Time will tell all.

#### LEWIS.

In the interim' tis true tho', that the Pope is very much hamper'd and plagu'd how to do every body Justice, which indeed is not so easily done. Suppose now he should exert himself so much against the King of Spain as to insist upon what your Son the Emperor Charles VI. has prescribed to him, he would make him his greatest Enemy; which would not be conducive to the Pope's Interest neither, having out of Spain his best and greatest Revenues. I believe he will act in those Matters like an accomplish'd Politician, and be the Friend of both Parties, or declare himself against that Party which can hurt him least.

# SECRETART.

FLORENCE. Our grand Duke E seems to be very much puzzled which Party to embrace, in case a Rupture should happen in Italy between the Emperor and Spain. The first solicits him constantly to evacuate and deliver up to him several Places; and the King of Spain desires our Duke to declare himself on his Side. Mean while he neglests not to provide his Towns, particularly Leghorn, with all things needful against all Assaults whatever.

#### LEOPOLD.

I would never advise him to declare himself for Spain, if it is not already done: For the Spaniards, in case they should come into Italy, will certainly

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not hold it very long. If he won't declare himself for the Emperor, he would do much better to stand Neuter, and let both Parties solicit him as much as they please. There's no doubt there will happen a great War after this Grand Duke's and his Princess's Death, from whom there is no Hope of Issue. For on the Emperor's Side they pretend the Grand Dutchy is a Fief of the Empire; tho' the Bland Duke thinks himself to be a Sovereign Lord, because that since Charles V.'s Time no Acceptance of it as a Fief can be proved; and therefore that he has Power to dispose of his Dominions according to his Pleasure: Whence it comes that he has been hitherto so much caressed by Spain and France.

#### LEWIS.

To me it seems not to be a Fief of the Empire; and France has certainly a great Pretence upon it, because of the Marriages and Treaties, and Confederacies that have been made betwixt the House of Bourbon, and that of Florence. But be that as it will, the Matter will chiefly depend upon the Grand Duke; or, after his Decease, upon his Successor the Hereditary Prince, in what Manner they'll please to dispose thereof.

#### SECRETARY.

PARMA. Messengers go constantly to and from Madrid. Our Duke is daily in Council, and deliberates how to resist the Imperialists in case he should be attacked by them.

### LEOPOLD.

This Duke has always been against the House of Austria, and is certainly drawn into a League with Spain, in hopes that my Son CHARLES VI. should have so much Business with the Turks, that Spain and he could be able to accomplish their Projects. But I fear that by the Arrival of the German Troops in Italy this Duke may be the first that shall feel my Son's Resentments.

# LEWIS.

I wonder very much that Parma will meddle with those Affairs, it having more Reason to be Neuter, considering its Weakness and Situation; but Mankind is often so blind, as to undertake things that in the Issue only promote Ruin and Destruction.

#### SECRETARY.

PARIS. The King is in perfect Health; our Troops in Alsatia have Orders to move and to march into Dauphine, where they are to stand quiet till they see what part the Duke of Savoy is resolved to act. The good Correspondence with the King of England continues: But Preparations for War are carried on with such Vigour,

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Constitution, it is in Statu quo, and both Parties are forbidden to proceed. Several Persons, who by the Chamber of Justice have been condemned to pay great Sums, are absolved by our Regent.

#### LEOPOLD.

I'll suspend my Judgment of this Affair. But, Dearest LEWIS, pray tell me yours.

#### LEWIS.

I must confess that several Passages relating thereunto seem very dark. Only I must own, the Regent, tho' I am not well satisfy'd with him, acts the nice Politician. He already fell out with PHILIP V. when he commanded in Spain, who had also then his Secretary arrested; and the Difference is so far advanced, that by Virtue of the Peace of Utrecht, and the Renunciation of PHILIP, the REGENT pretends to be next Heir to the Crown of France, in case the young KING should die without Male Issue. But Philip, I believe, in fuch a Case, will not think himself bound up by the Peace of Utrecht, and will claim the Right that his Birth gave him. Both Princes have also their Parties in that Kingdom: It is therefore impossible that they can be Friends. or that the Duke of ORLEANS should ever promote the Designs of PHILIP against the Emperor. On the other Side, the REGENT has no Reason to be pleased with the EMPEROR, if he will not be satisfy'd with the Peace of Utrecht, but insist further upon his Right to Spain : For in that case King PHILIP likewise could not be bound to his Renunciation; and consequently the Regent's Title would be null and void. It is therefore most advisable for the REGENT to endeavour to maintain the Peace of Utrecht with the utmost Power, and permit neither Philip to make further Progresses in Italy, nor the EMPEROR to find out means of attacking Philip in Spain; which yet is a very difficult Matter, as long as GREAT-BRITAIN and Dulland do not affift. Therefore I believe that for this Reason the Troops are to march from Alsatia into Dauphine, in order to resist and oppose the Duke of Savor, who is in very good Circumstances, in case he should declare himself for Spain, and should create to the Emperor greater Troubles. The rest of the mighty Preparations are perhaps only out of Precaution; because ORLEANS has no Reason to trust much to PHILIP, who has now also put himself into a very good Posture; or else to be in a Condition to oblige the Emperor and Philip to a Treaty of Peace. Olleans is in the Right to keep GEORGE, King of GREAT-BRITAIN, his Friend; for he can furely rely upon his Affistance, in case he should be obliged to maintain his Right against PHILIP by Force of Arms. It is therefore not to be doubted that the Amity betwixt France and Great-Britain will subsist, untill the young King arrive to Man's Estate, and have Heirs; in which Case the Affairs of EUROPE will again put on another Face. But if he dies without Heirs, the Amity of Great-Britain

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Britain will always be requisite to the Duke of Orleans; for the Love that sich a great Number of Frenchmen have for Philip, and his Heirs, will not fo bon be extinguish'd, but many Disturbances may happen. Concerning the Affair of the Constitution, the Regent has not been able to make a final End of it. If that had been done, 'tis certain those who are for the Constitution would have been the undermost, and those that are against it would have been the uppermost; tho' had I reigned a little longer, you might have been perswaded of the contrary. But the Duke of Orleans is a great Politician, and endeavours to delay this Matter for this Reason, that each Party being always left at an Uncertainty, or ever moved by Fear and Hope, might be obliged the longer to wish and work for his Grace and Favour. I am very glad to hear that those, who have been condemned by the Chamber of Justice to pay great Sums, have been absolved: It is true that several Ministers and Officers of the Finances, or Money Affairs, have enriched themselves intolerably; but to many of them their Wealth has certainly been a heavenly Bleffing, and an unexpected good Luck: And therefore the Proceedings of this Chamber of Justice may well be called hard and cruel; particularly because it affected no others but those that appeared against the Duke Regent.

# You i age very well, I'm RECRETARY.

MADRID. King PHILIP diverts himself sometimes with Hunting, and Cometimes with other Pleasures, and has left the Affairs of State entirely to the QUEEN, and Cardinal Alberoni; so that hardly any thing is proposed to him. The Preparations at Sea and Land in this Kingdom are as great as ever they have, been; and it is assured that in a few Weeks there will be brought together 100,000 Men, and a Fleet of 50 Men of War: That 50000 Men will be then transported. into Italy; and 30000 Troops of Savoy, Florence and Parma, shall either join them, or shall act separately. So that it is hoped to make the Emperor, this Campaign, a great Diversion in Italy, if not move him entirely out of it. Several Grandees seem to be uneasy at the great Power and Authority of Alberoni in all Affairs. LEOPOLD.

This is News of Importance indeed; for the Enterprizes of the Court of SPAIN have hitherto shewn that every thing there is not considered ripe enough. For speaking only of the Attack upon Sardinia, (to which the Money and Ships that should have been employ'd against the Turks were made use of) where is the Honour and Conscience of his CATHOLICK MAJESTY, as he calls himself? That there's a strong League against the Emperor, and that a formidable Army shall act against him, I easily believe; and suppose that only 30 or 40000 of the abovesaid 80000 Men appear, it ill be enough to create great Troubles and Bloodshed. But here, fift, it ay be again asked, where is the Conscience and Honour of a pretended atholick King, and Catholick Princes, to act against Christians, who on the other Side are fighting at the same time against the Turks, the hereditary and implacable Enemies of the Christian Name? Is not this an actual affisting of the Turks; and who can doubt that there's a Correspondence between the OTTOMAN PORT, and the Court of SPAIN? At least it is certain that the Rebel Ragotzp, who is at Constantinople, writes very often to Cardinal Alberoni, and he to him. 2dly, Can they be affured that France, in case Savoy declares against the Emperor, will be satisfy'd and easy, and not endeavour to hinder fuch a Declaration, by preventing which, a great Hole will be made in the Spanish Accounts? And nothing is more certain than that the Friendship between PHILIP and the Duke of Orleans stands but upon a very flender Foundation. 3dly, How will GREAT-BRITAIN and HOLLAND like it; and what Measures will they take? 4thly, Won't the EMPEROR fend thither fuch a confiderable Army, that may be capable of withstanding all his Enemies? Therefore that young QUEEN, in Conjunction with her Cardinal Alberoni, (who, as I hear, is like to prove but a very indifferent Politician) hath inconfiderately undertaken things which they cannot well bring to pals.

#### LEWIS.

You judge very well, Dearest LEOPOLD, of the Matter: But give me leave to tell you, that you insist a little too much upon the Point of Honour and Conscience, which a Christian Prince should observe. Ratio Status does not always suffer a tender Conscience to exert it self. An Enemy that grows too powerful must be attack'd when it is convenient, and when he is entangled with more or other Business.

PHILIP V. is already eighteen Years upon the Throne of Spain, and has several Heirs: But Charles VI. will not acknowledge him as such, grasps at the Spanish Monarchy, keeps still the Spanish Title, creates Grandees and Knights of the Golden Fleece, and had also his sirst Son christen'd as Prince of Asturias. Should not this vex Philip prodigiously? Who is more dangerous to him than the Emperor, as long as he does not recognize him as King of Spain? And when will there happen such a favourable Opportunity again to hurt him as now, when he has to sight against so powerful an Enemy as the Turk?

Philip's WIFE is a Princess of Parma, whose governing Mind, assoon as she landed in Spain, did shew and exert it self against the Princess of Ursin, who at that time managed all Affairs, and was highly esteemed at the Spanish Court: For when this Princess made bold to tell the young Queen, she had tarried too long on her Journey in coming thither, the Queen immediately sent her out of Spain into France, by an Officer then commanding the Guard, sorbidding her ever to return to Spain again: Tho' the King had made this Princess grand Governess of the Queen, and had sent her to the Frontiers of Spain to meet her Majesty. But a vast Courage was requisite for

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uch Proceedings; the it is not common in Princesses, who, no doubt, in he Case of Complaints against a Person of such Quality as the Princess of Urfini, would have first acquainted the Kings their Husbands thereof, rather than without any Intimation to use such a sudden Severity. This QUEEN, when going to Spain by Sea in the Fleet that Philip fent for that purpose, meeting with a Storm that lasted for several Days, and growing very fick, (as it commonly happens to People the first time they go to Sea) ordered the Admiral to fet her a-shoar, being resolved to go by Land thro' France to Spain: And when he remonstrated to her, that great Preparations must be made for such a Journey, and how late she would arrive at Madrid, and, on the contrary, the could be there by Sea in a few Days time, the was positive, and would be landed, not saying more than, I hope the King will see me alive, and not dead in Spain. PHILIP had seen this Princess Anno 1712, when he was in the Campaign in Italy; and tho' she was then but small and little, he had already an Esteem for her: He loves her heartily, and is not able to refift her fiery Spirit and governing Soul; on the contrary, he likes that the should affift him in bearing the Burden of the Government: And, in order to have a confident Statesman about her, she employ'd Abbat Alberoni, her Countryman and Favourite, to be her first Minister, and teized the POPE fo long, that he has made him a Cardinal; and now she endeavours to procure him Archbishopricks, and other considerable Revenues; so that he will have yearly at least 3 or 400,000 Crowns. This Cardinal, whom you take for an unexperienc'd Statesman, is said to be one of the most skillful, craftieft, and most vigilant Men upon Earth; so that he may do great Services to Spain, if the Jealoufy of the Grandees, who hate him as a Foreigner, don't debar him of that Honour. As for the King of Sicily, or Duke of Savoy, as you call him, he is certainly in bad Circumstances. If the Confidence between France and Spain is so bad as I suppose it to be, he cannot declare himself openly without falling out with the Emperor, who also is very hard upon him, and will know nothing of a King of Sicily. But if he should not declare himself, he must expect that his Kingdom of Sicily will be attack'd by the Spaniards, and he deprived of it. However, he is a perfect Politician, and will foon know how to draw himself out with Honour and Credit from under those Circumstances.

#### SECRETARY.

LONDON. Our King is in perfect Health; we have Reason to wish its Continuance. The Admiralty is very busy in equipping more Fleets; one of them is already gone to the Mediterranean, and another to the Baltick.

# LEOPOLD.

The King of GREAT-BRITAIN is not very tall of Person; but his Physical flognomy is extreamly happy; and in Wisdom and Prudence very sew Princes in the World are his Equals: The Almighty has been savourable to him,

that he is the first of the House of HANOVER ascending the Throne of GREAT-BRITAIN, which is no small Bleffing; and he will certainly prove the best King that ever reigned there. But what will the Spaniards fay when they see his Fleet appear in the Mediterranean? I hope they won't think that it is only to frighten them; for then they would be mightily mistaken, the King of GREAT-BRITAIN being certainly in good earnest to hinder their making further Progresses in Italy; and perhaps other Ships of War will join the British Fleet.

# LEWIS.

It is very well known to me that the present King of BRITAIN is very gracious, and of a very good Temper; and also, when it is required, very severe and rigorous: It is his Maxim in Great-Britain to let the Laws of the Country be the Arbitrators of every thing, by which he has no Reason to fear any body. What Credit he has got by his just Proceedings and Prudence, may eafily be judged of by this, that his Party in the Parliament always prevails; tho' feveral offended Persons of great Consequence have gone over to the Disaffected, and voted against him. Blessed is he that duly respects such a King, who rewards every body according to their Merits!

#### SECRETARY.

HAGUE. We are here still in a constant Uncertainty, whether the STATES will enter into the Alliance against Spain. The Valiant Earl of CADOGAN, Envoy Extraordinary of Great-Britain, takes great Pains to perswade them to it; and the Spanish Minister works Day and Night to detain them from it: Mean while several believe that the Earl of Cadogan will succeed in his Negotiation.

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If the STATES-GENERAL are not resolute against reasonable Measures, they must unavoidably enter into this Alliance, tho it may hinder their Trade for some time; yet it cannot be supposed that for the sake of a present small Profit they would refuse to help extinguish a Fire, which in a short time would prove their utter Destruction; as they did not mind for twelve Years running the Anger of Spain, so they may now easily venture it for a couple of Years, to force the Duke d'Anjou the better to understand Reason, and to be tractable. Yea, I believe that nothing detains them from it, but the Affair of the Barrier Treaty between them and the Emperor, which is not yet adjusted; but by these critical Junctures it will succeed the happier for them.

#### LEWIS.

Don't you believe, my Dearest LEOPOLD, that formerly the United Provinces had not so easily enter'd into the Grand Alliance against me, nor had done their Trade so great a Prejudice, if the late King of Great-Britain, WILLIAM, myelly has been tavourable to han,

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who was always my Enemy, had not brought them into it by his Authority and Reputation amongst them?

The Differences about the Barriers betwixt the Emperor and them draw their Origin from me, and are a Trick I play'd in the upper Regions. I could have easily adjusted this Matter for the Dutch at the Peace at Radstadt: But I did not mention it on purpose, and left it to their own Care, knowing that this Affair would occasion many Differences betwixt them and the Emperor. The General and Earl of Cadogan, an Irish Gentleman, has rais'd himself by his heroick Courage and Prudence; he is a very fine Person, and all his Conduct gives reason to believe that he must be a persect Soldier, and an accomplish'd Statesman, who deserves to succeed one Day or other to the Heroick MARLBOROUGH, that has been so stated to me.

#### SECRETARY.

STOCKHOLM. His Royal Highness the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel continues to travel from one Place to another to review the Troops. Our King, who is still in Scandinavia, not far from Lunden, has been every Day in Conference with the French Ambassador, Comte de la Marck, and Baron Gortz: Count Gillemberg and Baron Gortz are gone to the Conferences of Peace with Muscovy at Abo in Finland: The mean time nothing is neglected to increase our Army, which actually amounts to above 50000 Men, and to put the same in Condition to undertake something of Moment. The Capers go again to Sea to try their Fortune.

#### LEOPOLD.

I must say that this Swedish Capering is nothing else but Piracy, and an actual Rupture with Britain and Holland; for they could, on that very Account, in Justice and Reason declare War against Sweden. I cannot comprehend why Sweden has not accepted a great while ago of the offer'd general Peace, his Enemies being too many for him, and his Affairs in very ill Circumstances. I don't approve of a particular Peace with Muscovy, nor can I believe that the Cz AR will be perswaded to it: He is besides the chief Perfon in all the Northern War; and I should think that if they had done with him, the Difficulties with the rest could be the easier removed. Before the Czar took Livonia, and made other Progresses, I was told that Petersburg was the Pomum Iridis: Sweden would not part with that Place, it being the Key of the Baltick, and the Cz AR would never give ear to its Reftitution. But in case a particular Peace between Sweden and Muscowy should be made, I don't see what great things Sweden will be able to undertake, as long as the Kings of Poland, Prussia, Denmark, and the King of Britain as Elector of Hanover, continue to be allied together; for I believe not that France in favour of Sweden will begin a new War, nor any other potent Prince in Germany will disturb the present Quietness there.

#### LEWIS.

You never was well affected to Sweden when alive, and continue so still now you are dead. I suspend my Judgment whether it would not be practicable to make Peace between Sweden and Muscovy. The King of Sweden, by his heroick Constancy, has already tried Muscovy very much, and the Cz AR may perhaps have fome other private Views, which may dispose him for a Peace, whereby as much may be returned to Sweden as will fatisfy her in the present Situation of Assairs. And if there is Peace with Muscowy, it will follow of course in due time with the rest.

#### SECRETARY.

Muscow. The Inquisition of Several great People's Conduct during the Czar's Absence continues. The Master-General of the Ordnance BRUCE, and Counfellor of the Regency OSTERMAN, are gone to Abo Several Months ago, in order to treat there about a Peace with SWEDEN; and some are of Opinion that the same was already as good as concluded; but others pretend to know that a Truce of ten Years will be made, and every thing to be left in Statu quo. The CZAROWITZ has now actually and fully renounced the Succession of that Empire; and the first Son of the Czar's second Marriage, a Prince of four Years of Age, is again declared Successor.

#### LEOPOLD.

Things wonderfully happen in the World. Anno 1697 came the CZAR the first time out of Muscow, and called at Vienna too. After he had staid a long time out of his Realm, there arose a very dangerous Rebellion, and he was forced to return home again with all Expedition, when he very foon extinguished this Fire, and had a great Number of Rebels, about 3000, executed in Muscow in one Day. The Criminals were forced to stretch their Heads upon Timber, and so were cut off with Axes one after another. It may be, that if this Potentate should again be absent some Years, another Rebellion might be fomented, notwithstanding that solemn and severe Example. The CZAR is a great Lover of Arts and Sciences, and very skilful in the Art of War as well at Sea as by Land. He knows how to order and to direct exactly the whole Building of a Ship, and wishes that his Subjects would grow a polite and civil People: For which purpose he has made several good Laws and convenient Regulations, and has established several Colleges and Schools; yet many, and even some of the best Quality, are not well satisfy'd with that Reformation, and shew the CZAR from time to time their Reluctance. The difinherited Prince, who for some time, against his Father's Will, has absented himself, and has been at Tyrol, Rome, and at last at Vienna, has been declared incapable of succeeding, and likewise been obliged to renounce in the most solemn Manner; and it seems the CZAR

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has had great Reasons for it. As for the particular Treaty of Peace with Sweden, or the Truce of ten Years, tho it is written from Muscow it self, I can't so easily believe it, as I said before. Perhaps the King of Sweden endeavours to delay these Treaties, and to enter with other Princes, now against him, into a particular Alliance, in order to find out where to make the more convenient Breach upon the Czar. I perceive he has sent to Abo the BARON GORTZ, a crasty and intriguing Minister, who will play Tricks enough; so that all engaged in these Treaties, as well as Strangers, will have Reason prudently and cautiously to put themselves in a good Posture.

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#### LEWIS.

The CZAR was a Year ago in France, where he never had a mind to come during my Life; tho' he stay'd long enough in the Neighbourhood, in England and Holland. They have shewn him at Paris, and every where, singular and great Honours; infomuch that he has owned, the French Nation was to be preferred before all the rest of the World. Perhaps by this time the Peace is very forward with Sweden. The difinheriting of the Czarowitz, and his Renunciation of the Russian Empire, which he was obliged to perform with great Solemnity, is a mighty Precedent, and very important News; tho' confidering all the Circumstances alledged in the publick Declaration, it plainly appears that the CZAR has had great Reasons for it: The first is, that this Prince, notwithstanding all the Pains and Care of his Education, would never shew the least Inclination to Virtue, nor apply himself in any manner to the Military Science, to necessary for the Defence of a State against its Enemies; which gave Reason to the Czar to fear that the Glory the Russian Nation had acquired under his Government would entirely be darken'd by fuch a Suc-Secondly, That he had lived with his Wife in the greatest Uneasiness and Discontent: She was a Princess of the House of WOLFENBUTTEL Blankenbourg, and Sister to the present Empress. Thirdly, That he conversed with none but abject People. Fourthly, That he had ever opposed his Father and Lord, and at last entirely shewn himself disobedient, by leaving Russia against his Father's express Will, and flying to the Protection of others, blaming his Father and Lord, as aiming against his Life, which it may be eafily conceived would certainly and very fenfibly displease the CZAR. Yet the CZAR will have Reason to take very cautious Measures, if he intends and hopes to hinder and prevent that, notwithstanding this Jolemn Renunciation, and the Oaths taken by the States, no Troubles and Disturbances about this Affair shall happen after his Decease; particularly as long as this difinherited Prince shall be alive.

# SECRETART.

VIENNA. The there have been great Hopes of a Peace with the Turk, it has nevertheless been reported as if the Turk had only a mind to amuse us; but those Infidels.

fidels will find themselves mistaken, our Army appearing again this Year as soon and as firong as the last Year in the Field; so that now perhaps they will form another Judgment. We are in hopes to have a good Army in Italy too, in order to spoil all the Projects of the Enemies of the House of Austria. The Empress advances in her Pregnancy, and the Almighty is constantly imployed in all Churches for her happy Deliverance.

LEOPOLD.

The Emperor CHARLES'S Dominions in Italy being so much threaten'd with an Irruption, it would not be amils if he enter'd into a Peace with the Turks, tho' at last they should keep Morea: But for CHARLES to give them back any Conquests he has made, is not at all advisable; for he could very fafely venture another Campaign against them, and perhaps might take Zwornick, Withetzeh, and other Places, beating them out of the Field; upon which even Niffa must be lost: And I believe further, he might obtain so many Troops of the German Princes, that, without leftening his Army in Hungary, he might be able to relift his Enemies in Italy. CHARLES VI. is a very prindent and vigilant Prince, and God has given him very good Gemerals and Ministers; and I hope he will always take wife Resolutions, which may be happily executed. May it please God that his Wife soon rejoice him with a Prince.

LEWIS.

on, replaining

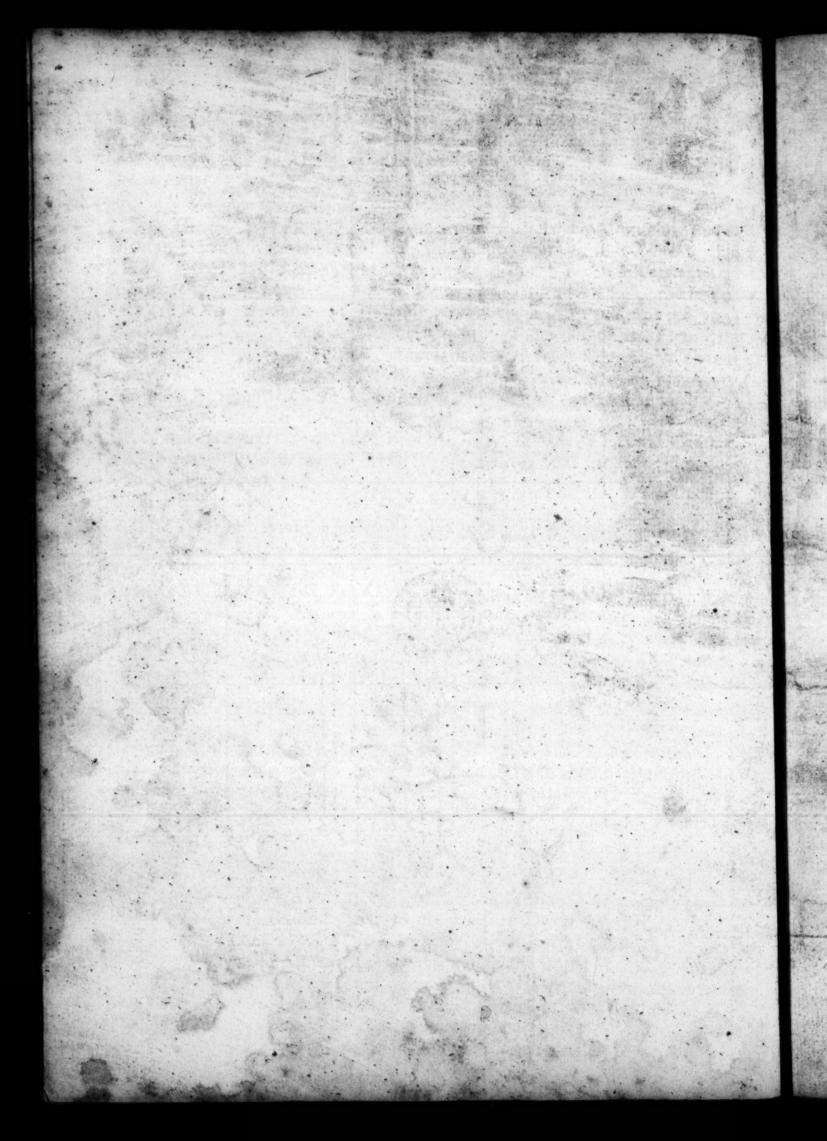
The Tinks also would have acted very foolishly, if at the present Juncture, when Spain threatens to attack the EMPEROR in Italy with a powerful Atmy, and has last Year actually begun with the Surprize of Sardinia, they should have made Peace, and not ventur'd their Fortune once more; especially when the Emperor is not willing to give back the least, of what he has conquered from them, else their Necessity is very great and general. Fortune is as round as a Ball, is a Saying in Germany itself; and who is ignorant of the Turns of the Wheel of Fortune? I my felf am a great Witness of her Inconstancy.

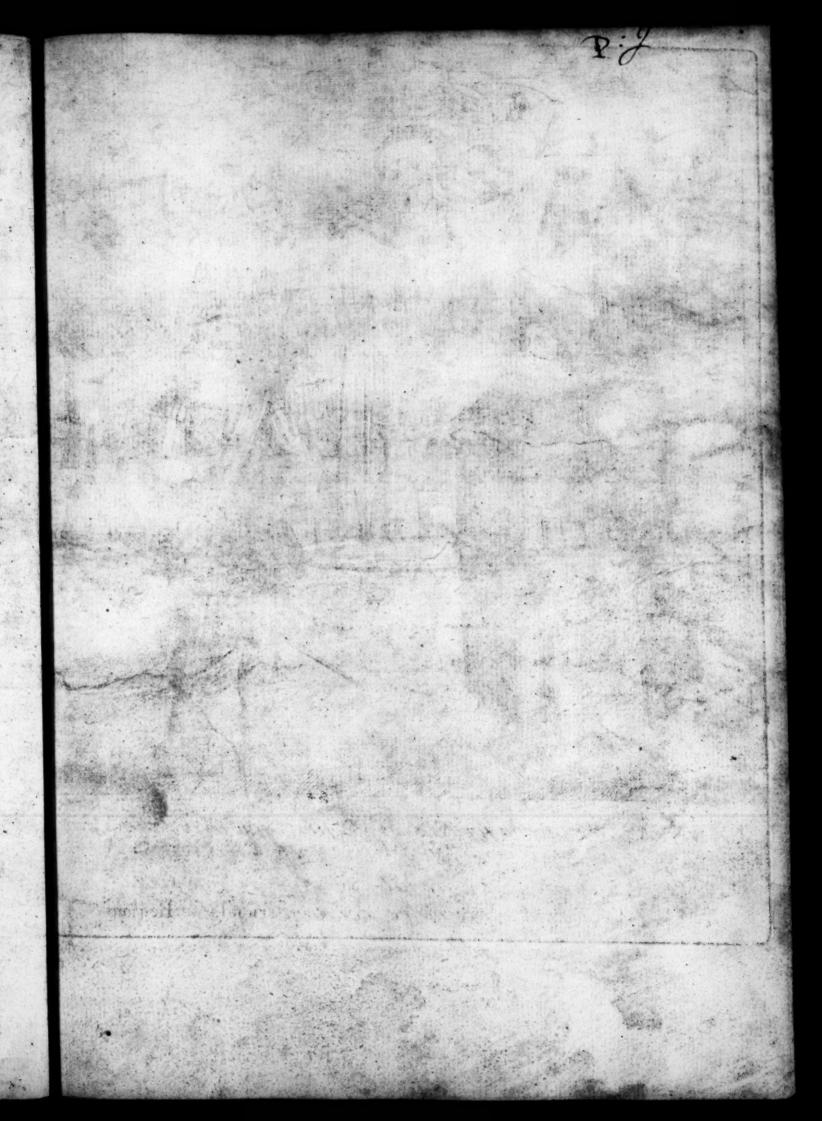
ind Lord, and at daft entire d Lo Q Q O O L

Well, I have discoursed enough of Temporal Affairs, and wish Mankind may confider they are Mortals, and that a small Place is enough to encompals the greatest Monarch; nay, the Conqueror of the World; not doubring but that then Jealousies and bloody Wars would be at an end! And to you, Dearest L'E wis, I wish all Quiet and Satisfaction: isband of regod bas tins Anair fhall happen after he L. W. H. Larricularly as

Alas! Dearest LEOPOLD, with what Concern must I leave off this agreeable INTERVIEW, and retire to my affigned Dwelling! I thank you heartily for the Honour of your Company and Conversation, and affure you, that were you and I once more to reign in the upper World, I should hever frame any Project against you, but live in perfect Amity with you, my near Kinsman, and trusty Friend, as here in the Realms of Death-Adieu

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FRANCIS We strove for EMPIRE first you gain'd the Fair,

Next MILAN was y MISTRESS of the War.

CHARLES We Rivals were till Crespy-peace was made

And now we're constant Friends in Regions of Deal

The SECOND

# INTERVIEW

INTHE

# Realms of Death,

BETWEEN

CHARLES V. Roman EMPEROR,

FRANCIS I. King of FRANCE.

Wherein is contain'd, besides other curious Things,

The History and Policy of these two Potentates, rehears'd by themselves.

'An accurate Account of the REFORMATION, and the subsequent Troubles of Germany.

The Substance of the most remarkable and important News, with their Political Resections.

And a short Relation of the Growth and Glory, the Fate and Fall of the SPANISH MONARCHY, and a Touch at its. Present Government.

To be continu'd Monthly.

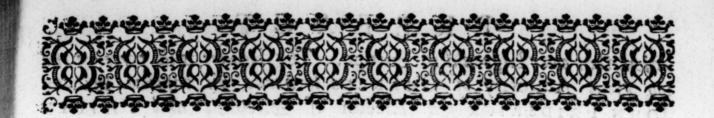
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# LONDON:

Printed by W. HUNTER, for J. HOOKE, at the Flower-de-Luce overagainst St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street; R. FORD, at the Angel! in the Poultry; and J. GRAVES, near White's Chocolate-House, St. James's. Where Subscriptions are taken in, and Receipts given.

The SECOND WEEKVIEW. eding to eminose CHARLES V. ROMAN ENGEROR. FRANCIS L. KING OF FRANCE. Wherein is contained, bendes other entions Things, e Alifery and Felicy of their two Potentars, relicant d by theatlelves. As accurate Account of the Berningers was the fallas Sublimite of the moff ter Zirilo'i right mivr and a floor Relation of the Growth and Glory, the Pate and full of the Stanish Monarchy, and a Touch of its Prefest Correspond To be continued Monthly, Witness criminally in Wildle Extent. enten 'e William van die onder de onder de onder Wilder de Lander of de la communication de la communication d Indiana de Communication de la comm



# PREFACE.



HE Translator has been necessarily hinder'd from pub-lishing this Second INTERVIEW so soon as was in-tended; but will be more expeditious for the Future in publishing the others, which is his Interest, as well as the

Satisfaction of the Subscribers.

The AUTHOR has observed here the same general Method as in the First, but with vast Advantage. CHARLES is brought in talking half like an Emperor, half like a Monk, until he comes to the Story of his Life; for then he speaks like an Emperor indeed, and like one truly convinc'd of his former Mistakes, and frankly owns them: But FRANCIS gives a shorter Story, tho' very en-

tertaining too.

This Interview is neither long nor tedious, and contains many curious Passages in a few Lines, for which it has been justly much applauded in Germany, and will doubtless recommend it self also in Britain, being the shortest and brightest Account extant of those two learned MONARCHS, and of the very great Transactions of their Time: Perhaps no Age ever produc'd three such Princes contemporary as CHARLES V. Roman Emperor, FRANCIS I. King of France, and HENRY VIII. King of England, for Learning, Prowess and Fortitude, each of 'em being qualify'd for the Univerfal Monarchy, and therefore hinder'd each other from it; but by all their Power and Policy they could not hinder the glorious Work of REFORMATION, in their respective Dominions, from advancing in a Way worthy of the divine Providence that fignally appear'd in every Step of it, as it was indeed the most amazing Revolution

# PREFACE.

lution that ever happen'd in Europe. The Reader will perceive the too great Austerity of Charles towards his captive Princes John Friderick the Elector of Sarony, and Philip Magnanimus the Landgrave of Hess, and this same Francis I. King of France, which he had Reason to repent of, as he did of that and all his other Enormities when he came to the Cloyster, and had Leisure to take a serious Review of his Life and Actions: And tho' Francis retir'd not to a Cloyster, yet his last Days were his best, being disengaged from Animosity and War, and likewise because he was very pensive before he died, restecting on the Errors of his Life with much Regret, especially on his Love Excesses, and on his being too easily and too much influenced by Women, and bad Politicians, contrary to his own better Judgment.

It was omitted in the Preface to the First, to inform the Reader of the Price to Subscribers, which is One Guinea for the first Nineteen Interviews to be paid at or before the Delivery of the XXth Interview. And seeing the learned Author in Germany has published more of em than the Thirty Eight of our Proposals, we intend to translate them too; and so the Subscribers must pay One Guinea more for the third nineteen Interviews at or before the De-

livery of the XXXIXth Interview.

This is an equitable Subscription; because none can complain that the Book is too little for the Money, or that it comes as cheap to others as to Subscribers; for to others that buy them singly as they are published, they are Eighteen-Pence a-piece. Nor can these justly complain neither; because the some sew of the Interviews may contain a less Number of Sheets than is usually sold for Eighteen-Pence, the others are bulky enough to supply that Defect; and that Objection being removed, it is hoped that they who care not to lay down a Guinea in Hand, will encourage this very useful Work by Purchasing it in Parcels as they are published. The Subscribers Names will be printed at the End of each nineteenth Interview; and 'tis not doubted but that the more this Work is known, it will be the more encouraged, as a curious and useful Collection of History and Biography.

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# SYNCHRONISMS

Between the Year 1515, when Francis began to reign.
And the Year 1558, when Charles died in the Monastry.

KINGS of	Names of Kings.	Began to reign Anno	Reign'd Years.	Dy'd, or ceas'd to reign.	
England,	HENRY VIII.	1509	38	1547	When Francis died.
	EDWARD VI.	1547	6	1553	S When Maurice, Elector of Saxony, was kill'd. When Charles died. When the Council of Trent commenced, that lasted 22 Years. When depos'd; but was 16 when Charles died.
	MARY	1553	5	1558	
Scotland,	JAMES V.	1513	29	1542	
	MARY, an Infant.	1542	16	1573	
France,	HENRY II.	1547	12	1559	The Year after Charles died.
Denmark,	CHRISTIAN II.	1514	9	1523	When Pope Hadrian died, and Luther flourish'd at Wittenberg.
ac	FREDERICK I.	1523	14	1537	When the Articles of Smalcald were made.
1	CHRISTIAN III.	1537	22	1559	The Year after Charles died.
Sweden,	STENO STURE, GOVERNOR.	1513	8	1521	When Luther appear'd at Worms.
	GUSTAVUS	1523	38	1561	
Poland,	SIGISMUND the Father.	1506	42	1548	S The Year after Francis died.
Hungary,	Lewis, an Infant.	1516	10	1526	S When Francis was Pri- foner at Madrid.
	FERDINAND D. of Austria.	1527	36	1563	C Toner at 222minus
Bohemia,	LEWIS, an Infant.	1516	9	1525	S When Friderick Sapiens, Elector of Saxony, died.
	FERDINAND of Austria.	1527	36	1563	
Duke of Holftein.	FREDERICK	1482	50	1532	S When Fohn Constans, Elector of Saxony, died.
	CHRISTIANUSKing of Denmark.	1532	26	1558	When Charles died.
Emperor of ? the Turks.	SOLIMAN I.	1520	46	1566	
	Zwinglius began.	1516	1 15	1531	Died in Battel.
Reformers.	LUTHER began.	1517	29	1546	S When the Religious War began.
	CALVIN began.	1536	28	1564	

### The TITLES of the INTERVIEWS are,

#### INTERVIEW Between LEOPOLD Emperor of the Romans, and LEWIS XIV. King of France. CHARLES V. Emperor of the Romans, and FRANCIS I. King of France. III. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS King of Sweden, nd CHARLES I. King of Great-Britain. V. ELIZABETH Queen of England, and CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden. SEXTUS V. Roman Pontiff, IN JEAN BAPTISTA MOLIERE. VI. Vicomte DE TURENNE, and Madam DELA VALIERE, Mistress to Lewis XIV. VII. Lieutenant-General John Reinhold PATKUL, and Baron George Henry GORTZ, beheaded in Sweden. VIIL PHILTP II. King of Spain, and WILLIAM I. Prince of Orange. With the Political Question, viz. Whether a Lady with one Eye had any Charms? X. HENRY VIII. King of England, and Soliman II. Ottoman Emperor. A. JAMES IL. King of Great-Britain, and JAMES Duke of Monmouth. CI. EDWARD III. King of England, and WILLIAM III. King of Great-Britain. nd THOMAS Lord Marquess of WHARTON. MI. CHARLES II. King of Spain, ind Cardinal PORTOCARRERO. KIV. Father LA CHAISE, the Confessor of Lewis XIV. and Dutchefs DE FONTANGES. XV. Prince of CONDE, and CHARLES Marquess de CREUVRON. XVI. OLIVER CROMWELL, and RICHARD bis Son. KVII. RICHELIEU, Cardinals. and MAZARIN, XVIII. CHARLES II. King of Great-Britain, and XIX. beautiful MOLIERE. HENRY IV. King of France, Admiral CHATILLON.

and

#### INTERVIEW Between CLEOPATRA Queen of Egypt, and Duke DE LUXEMBOURG. XXI. The SEVEN Wife Men of Greece, and ANOTHER that acted like a Fool in the World Continuation of the last Interview. XXIII. Madam DE MAINTENON, and SCARRON ber Husband. XXIV. Continuation of the last Interview. XXV. INNOCENT X. Roman Pontiff, and DONNA OLYMPIA bis Coufin. XXVI. PHILIP III. King of Spain, and Duke D' OssunA, Governor of Naples and Sicily XXVII. Sir THOMAS MOOR Chancellor of England, and GREIFFENFELD Chancellor of Denmark XXVIII. VAN TRUMP the Dutch Admiral, and TORDENSHILD the Danish Vice-Admiral XXIX. Prince L E w Is of Baden, WALLENSTEIN. and XXX. Continuation of the last Interview. XXXI. Earl STANHOPE, HEINSIUS the Dutch Pensionarius. XXXII. Continuation of the last Interview. XXXIII. CLEMENT XI. Roman Pontiff, Father QUESNEL. and XXXIV. Continuation of the last Interview. XXXV. ELEONORA MAGDALENA THERESA Roman Empress, MARIATHERESIA Queen of France. XXXVI. CHARLES GUSTAVUS King of Sweden, FREDERICK WILLIAM the Great and Elector of Brandenburg. XXXVII. Continuation of the last Interview.

XXXVIII. The beautiful Mon Bason in France

Count DE CLERMONT.

## INTERVIEWS

# Realms of Death.

### ELYSIAN FIELDS

WITH Political Observations and Reflections on each.

> II. INTERVIEW

> > BETWEEN

CHARLES V. Roman EMPEROR,

FRANCIS I. King of FRANCE.

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HE Emperor CHARLES V. under whose Government the most important Affair of the Reformation was very much advanced, and before whom the Detman Evangelick STATES made their Confession at Augspurg with great Courage and Zeal, had no greater Enemy during his Life, than

FRANCIS I. King of FRANCE. It happen'd lately, that the Emperor (who dy'd a Monk) walking in the Realms of Death, among the fine Flowers wherewith those Elysian Walks are adorned; and turning his Thoughts upon the great Difference between the Inhabitants of the upper-World, and those that by their Death are happily released and delivered from earthly Vanities and Vexations, broke forth in a Rhapfody, half himperial, half Monkish, saying aloud:

Oh! the unspeakable Prosperity and Happiness of Elystum; Oh! charming, peaceful Dwellings! How much are you to be prized above

the noify, vain, and perplexing World, where nothing more prevails than frequent Diffurbances, cruel Wars, Animofities, and Bloodshed; but here on the contrary, a profound, an eternal Peace and Harmony, which nothing is able to diffurb and subvert! There People complain every Moment, and every where, of Sorrow and Anguish, Necessity and Want, even amidst the greatest Affluence and Superfluities; but from these lovely Mansions and Walks, all the Causes of Disquietment are for ever banish'd! Every Thing in View upon Earth foon tires us, and fades in our Eye, turns flat and infipid: But here all we behold afford us uninterrupted and perpetual Delights! Those Mortals are continually subject to Sickneffes, Pains, Perils, and Dangers; while we, that have that the Gulph of Death, are happily plac'd beyond its Reach; and being deliver'd from all the Means of Death, are endued with constant Vigour, Health, Life, and Ease! In short, upon Earth, Lamentation, Complaint, Fear, and Mifery, may be frequently beheld in Kings Palaces, as much as in poor Mens Cottages, that labour hard for their daily Bread! O ye miserable Mortals! how happy would you be in the upper World, if you had but the least Taste and Apprehension of the Pleasures we constantly enjoy in these peaceful Shades! But you are secluded from that serene Happiness by strong Bars and Locks, which are opened only to Souls divested of mortal Flesh. You are still under the cruel Tyranny of TIME, that plays you innumerable Tricks, is as inconstant as the Wind, and treats you at Pleasure, and according to its Caprice: TIME is ever consuming, and in its quick Flight carries along with it felf what it had formerly produced, and by continual producing of other new Things, it cheats the Living upon Earth, and mocks them every Moment: I fay, Time cheats you; for no Mortal can affirm, he ever met with any Thing that afforded him real and lasting Contentment: And even the greatest Splender and Happinels among the Living is mixed with Gall and Bitternels, and is subject to many thousand melancholy Accidents! It is only ETERNITY, from which Inconstancy is banish'd, that alone is able to make you truly and perfectly happy! Banish therefore all Fear and Dread of Drath, and believe with the Poet, Ante Obitum Nemo, Oc. or with wife King SOLOMON, that the Day of Death is better than the Day of one's Birth; for we are born to Trouble, but we die to Happiness.

FRANCIS I. had a great while foftly followed the Emperor, endeavouring to speak with him, tho' in vain: But now it happily fell out, that he found the Emperor near a Fountain all alone, just while uttering those lofey Strains, which putting the King into a Surprize, he said to himself: parbleu! The Happiness and Contentment the Emperor is blessed with in the Brenting of Death seems to be exceeding greater than my own, tho' mine exceeds all the Glory upon Earth. I hope by this Time he will be recovered from this sweet Extasy; I'll therefore delay no longer, but must speak to him; tho' I'm almost afraid to do it, expecting no good Treatment, but a Spanish disdainful Look, and a grave Reprimand for the frequent Disturbances I gave him in his Life-time.

But FRANCIS having been King of a Nation not much used to be bashful in making Addresses, those fearful Apprehensions quickly vanish'd, and approaching nearer to the Emperor, said:

I hope, Great EMPEROR, you are not still uneasy, still revengeful; but have wisely forgot the Enmity that was betwixt us in the Land of the Living, and the many Tricks I play'd you there; for I assure you, Sir, I take you now for my sincere Friend, and believe you will not be offended at my Desire to converse with you.

Upon which, the EMPEROR gravely answer'd:

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Here, where true Wisdom reigns, no Passions any more take Place; no Revenge of the old mutual Follies that happen'd upon Earth can here prevail; we only pity the poor Mortals for being in a Capacity of committing Follies and Weaknesses of all sorts: Besides, dearest Francis, you know I am not much in your Debt, having play'd you Trick for Trick.

#### FRANCIS.

What you fay is true, dearest CHARLES, my Heart is also free from Passions and Resentment, and I shall be glad to spend many Hours in your good Company: But pray tell me, if the Words you spoke, when you thought you was alone, about the Blessedness of the Dead, and Misery of the Living, were in good earnest, or whether you did not speak them only in Extasy?

#### CHARLES.

What a Question is that? Must you not your self own the Truth of what I said, and entirely agree with me, having been now so long in the Regions of the Dead?

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Indeed, I must own my Pleasure and Happiness, tho' perhaps not so great as yours, is not to be changed with all the Splendor of the upper World. Nevertheless, I can't comprehend how you can justly blame the Things and Transactions of the Earth in general, and charge them with such Inconstancy, reducing all to nought: For you know there are some Things there that last long enough, and which you can't annihilate, viz. the Pleasure of being adorn'd with Crown and Scepter, to govern so many Millions of Men, to prescribe them Laws, to sight bloody Battels, and gain Victories, to conquer strong Towns, and whole Provinces, and to reduce them so low, that all the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants entirely depend on the arbitrary Will and Pleasure of the Conqueror. In short, the State and Condition of a Free, Independent, and Sovereign Prince, who can have every Thing his Heart covets, is far from being vain and miserable; but on the contrary, he that lives in such a State upon Earth is rather to be esteemed happy.

#### CHARLES.

What do I hear! Do you still defend the Vanities of the World, after having been almost two Centuries in the Empire of Death? I must needs affirm again, that all the splendid Things of the upper World are nothing in Comparison of an happy Eternity; considering that earthly Happiness is only imaginary, not real, and of no Duration, attended also with many Dangers and troublesome Circumstances.

Now tho' this Truth is almost self-evident, yet with your Leave I will take Pains to refute what you was pleased to advance in Favour of Earthly Grandeur and Royal Sovereignty, whereby the Truth will more fully appear.

If crown'd Heads, or Sovereligns, think themselves dispensed with from taking due Care of their Subjects, and endeavouring their Happiness, and will only wear Crown, Scepter, and Authority for their own Pleasure, and think that Grandeur chiefly consists in making themselves to be fear'd and dreaded; mean while concluding that their Subjects were created for Sacrifices to their Caprice, and to be only regarded as their Beasts of Burthen, of Slavery and Conveniency; they act directly against the Will of the Almighty, are to be consider'd as Scourges of Mankind, and that very Pleasure, which they imagine to find in such Cruelties, is mix'd

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mix'd and attended with Millions of Disquietments, Convulsions, Fears, Perils, and Dangers, unto which that kind of Government must be always expos'd. But, on the contrary, confidering that a Sovereign should be the same as a Shepherd to his Flock, who leads the Sheep to good Pasture, takes Care of their Welfare, and watches for their Safety Night and Day; what a heavy and intolerable Burthen is the DIGNITY of a Sovereign? Should he not always prove by his Conduct, that he is the Father, the Guardian, the Protector, and Patron of his numerous People in general, and of every one in particular, endeavouring their universal Happiness, temporal and spiritual, and so become a Terror to Evil Doers, and a Praise to the Righteous and Religious? That Sovereign, who well confiders these Things as inseparable from his Authority, will very often sweat and figh under all the external Brightness of his Highness, and will furely not strive for more Countries and People than God and Nature has entrusted him to govern; because else he draws on himself more heavy Cares, and involves him into more Perplexities and Toils: For every Body will own, it is a most painful Business to govern many Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms, with Abundance of wicked, unruly, unjust, cheating, and ingrateful Men, and to protect them against all Dangers wherewith they are threaten'd from Abroad, as well as to preserve them in Peace at Home. A Sovereign endowed with Patience and Prudence enough, indefatigably to bear the Burthen of his Government, and wifely to provide for every Storm, always confulting the Safety of his People, which is the supreme Law; such a one, 'tis certain, rightly considers the high Value and Preciousness of his Charge, and richly deserves of his Subjects their fincere Love, profound Veneration, and chearful Obedience: nor will any of em refuse to contribute their several Quota's for the Support of his Crown, Dignity, and Government; but will submit to his Laws and Ordinances with Pleasure, and even be ready to sacrifice their Lives for him.

It is therefore a false Position, that there is any real Pleasure in gaining Victories by Fighting bloody Battels; for no Potentate should undertake Wars, but for the Honour of God, the Preservation of his own Perfon, and the Sasety of his Subjects, (particularly when they are threaten'd by Foreign Powers,) or for the saving of his injured Honour, and when he cannot help it, but is constrained and forced to shed Blood, which by no means can be agreeable to a generous Mind, who will naturally decline that Province. Would it not be very surprizing to look, if possible, into the Heart of a warlike Prince, when just putting his Army in Order of

Battel, especially in a dubious and dangerous Case? Should we not see him fill'd with much Fear, and little Hope, dreadful Wrath and Fury, perplexing Anger and Confusion? If the Battel is lost, Shame and Despair are like to overset him: If Victory be gain'd, yet can he not in a short Time compose himself again: Besides, that the Victory is generally mixed with such unhappy Circumstances, and even such considerable Losses on the Victor's Part, and attended with fuch growing Cares, and towering Projects too, that may never take Effect, that the Joy of the Conquest is much imbitter'd and impair'd. And what mighty Pleasure can the Conqueror conceive in the Bloodshed, Losses, Griefs, and Lamentations of the unfortunate People subdued by his victorious Sword, who are never or seldom, the Cause of the War, and truly deserve his generous Pity, and Princely Clemency, rather than his Triumph? I wonder much you can talk of Potentates who could have all their Hearts defire, and would fain know who these are; for, I doubt, there was never such a one upon Earth. I'm sure I was one of the most potent in the World, yet I well remember my frequent Disappointments, and that I often misearried and fail'd of those Things upon which I had fet my Heart's Defire : And even your felf having been likewise a Crown'd Head, and almost equal to me in Power and Grandeur, can you boast of having always enjoy'd what you wish'd for? Have you already forgot how eager and fanguine you was for Possessing the Dutchy of MILAN, which you could never recover after I had once wrested it from you? And in many other very considerable Projects, we must own, we both fail'd of our Hearts Defire, our political Conceptions proving often abortive. were and richly deferred

But the Mortals themselves can well explain the Inconstancy of temporal Assairs, and prove there is no Desence against it, even by indisputable Evidence every where upon Earth, besides the Instances we have in holy Writ. Where is the great City and Tower of Babel, that was erected by the most of Noah's Oss-spring, join'd together to make to themselves a Name, and to prevent their Dispersion, of both which they were miserably disappointed? Where are all the great Cities built by Nimbro Diand his Successor? Where is the Navigation of the Phenicians, the Scepter and Law-giver of Judah, the holy and magnificent City and Temple of Jerusalem, whose Description transcended human Skill? Where are the Institutions of Moses, and his costly Way of Worship, now observed? Where can Men find an old Heathen Oracle, and what Nation upon Earth performs the ancient Rite of Sacrificing?

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Nay, those Things that were most durable, were torn at last by the Teeth of Time; for, excepting one or two of the Pyramids of Egypt, (which stood when we reign'd upon Earth) where are the seven Wonders of the World? viz.

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I. The other monstrous Pyramids of solid Marble, whereof one was so big, that in perfecting it, there were employ'd 360,000 Men every Day for twenty Years.

II. The TEMPLE of Diana at Ephefus, the Mistress of Lesser Asia, burnt down (by a vile Fellow, for the Lust of being talked of in After-times, for which Historians have, in just Revenge, conceal'd his Name) the Night that ALEXANDER the Great was born, when the Goddess was so deeply engag'd at the young Hero's Birth, that she had no Leisure to preserve her Temple.

III. The WALLS of Babylon, built by the glorious Nebuchadnezzar, with lofty Towers and hanging Gardens, in Compass 480 Furlongs, (or 60 British Miles) the largest, the strongest, the most curious and costly upon Earth.

IV. The MAUSOLEUM, or Tomb of Mausolus King of Caria, erected by ARTHEMISIA his mournful Widow, as the splendid Evidence of her Love to his Memory, of the finest Marble, with Columns of the best Sculpture, and glorious Arches, whence the Tomb of any Great Man is still call'd Mausoleum.

V. The Tower of PHAROS, a most splendid Light-House, erected at the Harbour of Alexandria by the learned King of Egypt PTOLOMEUS Philadelphus.

- VI. The Statue of JUPITER OLYMPIUS sitting in his Temple in Achaia, made of innumerable small Pieces of Porphyry.

VII. The great Colossus of Rhodes, made of Metal, a Statue dedicated to the Sun, like a Tower at a Distance, at the Mouth of the Harbour, striding wide enough for the largest Ships with their Masts apike to sail under it, or between its Legs, holding in its Hands large Beacons for Fires in the Night.

I say, where are all these, and many more such Erections, that the Founders thought must have remain'd for Eternity? They are overturn'd by Time, without leaving scarce a Vestige of their Glory; and the curious Traveller beholds their confused Ruins, if any lest, with full Conviction of what I have now afferted.

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Where are all the mighty Empires, Kingdoms and Common-wealths that we find recorded in facred and profane Story? The four GRAND Monarchies are now long extinct, faving only that I and my Successors are Nominal ROMAN Emperors, and govern the scanty Remains of the fourth Monarchy. No Wonder, that the Conquests of the GRAND CYRUS, ALEXANDER, JULIUS CESAR, (and many more that could be named) are now obliterated by Length of Time, and only preserved in Books, when Events of much later Date are quite forgot.

Therefore, dear FRANCIS, you must yield this Point, and agree with me, that nothing upon Earth is fully fatisfactory and durable; but that the Wheel of Time has a perpetual Rotation, which renders all Things inconstant. Nay, if one from our Elysium could possibly return to the Earth, how amazed and confounded must he be upon viewing the vast Alterations since his Death, perhaps only fifty Years ago? For, Cities famous in his Time, he would find quite in another Form, or depopulated; young and beautiful Faces, full of Wrinkles and deformed; other Customs, other Modes and Fashions from the Court to the Kitchin; other Shapes of Apparel, and other Methods of preparing Entertainments; a quite different Pronunciation of the Languages, and other Manners in common Address and Conversation, than what were in Use in his Time; besides the prodigious Changes he might observe in the Affairs of State, in Religion, and in Families: How many little Families boasting of their upstart Nobility, being since his Time only risen from their low Sphere, whose Forefathers, perhaps, were his meanest Vassals, or worse? And how many ancient Families, formerly grand and flourishing, now reduced to Poverty and Obscurity?

I speak these Things not from Envy: No, I am dead, and Envy is also dead with me; but only to prove my Assertion, that every Thing upon Earth is changeable, inconstant, vain, and transitory: And if in fifty Years one might observe such Changes, how many far greater Changes might be observed by one that has been dead several hundred Years ago, if he should

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should return to the Earth? Would he not be much more surpriz'd at the present State of the World, and scarce able to remember one Province, Town, or Family in his Native Country, or to pronounce the Language of its present Inhabitants? Do you think that the Emperor Augustus would know now the City of Rome; or at least would he readily find the Place of his Palace there? Would Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, understand the Modern Pronunciation of Latin? No, I don't believe it, but rather think that they, with the ancient Jews and Greeks, would be laugh'd at as Barbarians; nay, even you, with your old French, and I with my seven Languages, which I spoke tolerably well, would be both despis'd as uncouth and unfashionable Fellows by the present Age. Oh! Misery, Confusion, Vanity!

#### FRANCIS.

Quelle Philosophie! I own indeed you judge aright in the main; nevertheless, you must also own, it appears by the frequent Accounts brought us from the Earth, that several Sciences and Arts are there much improv'd fince our Time, by the Invention of Printing, and by Commerce and Navigation; for the Improvements made in these, have naturally produced many Improvements in other Things, as in Fencing, Dancing, Singing, Instrumental Musick, and in all the Mechanical Arts that are past reckoning; and especially in the Art of WAR, and every Thing relating to an Army or Fortification, a Field-Battel or a Siege; that 'tis no Wonder if the present Age esteem one of their Corporals as a more expert Commander than any General from Julius Cafar, to the Duke d' Alva. How ridiculous would an old Sea-Captain look now there, that liv'd before the Use of the Load-stone? Would he not be confounded to see a little Cabin-Boy teaching him how to pass the Tropicks without Coasting? And would not a Merchant of former Times be amaz'd at looking into the regular Books of the present Traders? Nay, you know we are told, that every where the Method of Study is altered for the better; and most Gentlemen are now Students of Mathematicks, which, perhaps, has occasion'd most of the modern Improvements in other Things. As for Religion, I perceive, since our Demise, the different Parties have excited each other to hard Study, so that now they have a greater Number of learned Divines, and the Theory of Religion is certainly very much improv'd, tho' I cannot say the Practice of it is, unless with a few spiritual and heavenly People in Corners. Therefore, Dear CHARLES, don't blame Changes in general, without Exception, because several of 'em are for the Honour of the present Age.

#### CHARLES.

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I grant it, Sir, but pray let me tell you, that many noble Sciences and Arts are now entirely loft, or lye obscure in a few Hands; for besides that, all the Men upon Earth put together, come far short in Astrology of the meanest Student in old Egypt and Chaldea, (which ancient noble Science the modern Mathematicians despise, without knowing it) where Aftronomy also was first cultivated; have the Moztals now any Physician to be compared with HIPPOCRATES, GALENUS, PARACELSUS, or other learned Ancients, whose Writings instruct and wisely direct the most learned Moderns? Which is the Reason that so few of 'em have rose to Honour and Wealth purely by their great Skill in Physick, but chiefly by Politicks or Poetry, or the Influence of Women or Apothecaries, or by some other lucky Hits that the Ancients had no Leisure nor Inclination to mind: No Wonder therefore, that such great Shoals of Diseased arrive daily on our Coasts, where they are happily deliver'd from Physick and Phyticiang. Nor have we yet heard of any modern Poets and Historians (except a very few miraculous Men) that have justly imitated the Ancients, far less able to rival and excel them. And where upon Earth can now be found an APELLES or a VITRUVIUS, or fuch Carvers, Sculpturers, Architects, Painters, as those formerly renown'd in Egypt, Syria, Greece, Sicily, and Rome; far less any worthy to carry the Tools of King Solomon, King Hiram, Hiram Abif, and the most excellent Artists of Nebuchadnezzar, and other Afiaticks? Nay, an ingenious Architect lately arriv'd here, affured PALLADIO, that the Moztals have not been able even to improve his Designs, and that their highest Ambition is to imitate the Ancients. In short, we daily hear that Men are not so grave and studious as even in our Time, but rather comical and fantastick, the Statesmen, the Lawyers, and Clergy not excepted, and Self-Conceit so generally prevailing, it follows that true Wisdom and Prudence retire into Corners, and are only to be found among a few, perhaps not the most regarded, of Mankind.

#### FRANCIS.

All you say, I heartily approve of; but however true it is, that the World is much degenerated, I suppose you would have but indifferent Success, if you was return'd to the Earth, and should attempt to reform the present Age; for their Wickedness and Self-Conceit is so great and general, that no Body scarce will humbly own himself to be mistaken, but will rather obstinately defend his perverse Opinions and Practices, without

without being concern'd if they should endanger the Sasety of his Fellow Christians, or even of a whole Republick.

Therefore, pray don't let us molest our selves in vain by this melancholy Enquiry, but rather divert each other with a short Recital of our own Lives upon Earth, and of the most remarkable Events in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and other Countries, since our Detnise, according to our best Information in Elysium, with the late Occurrences brought in the Monthly Pacquet by our old Friend Apercury, Superis gratus & imis, upon which we may raise very agreeable Resections and Observations, hoping, without a French Compliment, you will be pleas'd to begin your Story, and I shall follow your good Example.

#### CHARLES.

With all my Heart, and without Ceremony, I begin with affuring you, that the good Fortune, Dominion and Power I enjoy'd in the upper World were very confiderable and peculiar. My Grand-father Max-IMILIAN I. Roman Emperor, left (after the Decease of his Empress my Grand-mother) to my Father Philip the Dutchy of Burgundy, and all the seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands: My Father married Johanna the Daughter and Heiress of Ferdinands: My Father married Johanna the Daughter and Heiress of Ferdinands: Catholicus, King of Spain, of whom I was born at Ghent in Flanders, Anno 1500. While a Youth, I was educated by my learned and excellent Preceptor Hadrian of Utrecht, who not only taught me the Languages and Sciences, but also trained me up in the Skill of State-Affairs, and the Policy of Europe, in which he was most diligent, and for which afterwards, as you shall hear, I was very grateful to him, and procur'd him the Papal See and Dignity.

I discover'd, even while an Infant, an uncommon Magnificence and Splendor in all my Speech and Behaviour, and most People prognosticated my suture Advancement to the highest Dignity and Power, which indeed soon happen'd; for Anno 1506, my Father Philip died, and lest me all the Netherlands and Burgundy, over which I reign'd from the 6th Year of my Life. And Anno 1516, died also my Mother's Father Ferdinand the Catholic King of Spain, when the Spanish Monarchy, with all its most sourishing Kingdoms, Principalities and Colonies, fell to my Share by my Mother's being the Heiress, and I her eldest Son; tho' the Spaniards consulted how to set me aside, and to give their Crown to my Brother Ferdinand, for whom they had the greatest Love, and in I 2

whom they could place the firmest Considence, by Reason of his having been educated in Spain: So that reckoning from my Succession to the Crown of Spain, when sixteen Years old, I have reign'd thirty eight Years; in which Time there happen'd very many singular Events and Transactions; and I shall give you an Account of the most remarkable in as concise a Manner as I can.

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When my said Grand-father FERDINANDUS CATHOLICUS died, I was in the Netherlands, where I continued a Year longer; but upon the News of my succeeding him in that Throne, I sent my excellent Preceptor HADRIAN into Spain, and intrusted him with the Government thereof in Conjunction with old Cardinal XIMENIUS, the greatest Politician of the Age: They both discover'd their vast Capacity and sincere Regard for me in smoothing and sweetning the haughty Spaniards, in discovering and crushing several well-form'd Conspiracies against me, whereby Civil Wars and horrible Consuston were happily prevented, and my Government secured; particularly when, during my Absence in the Netherlands, JOHANNES ALBRETANUS the deposed King of Navarre, try'd his Fortune by Invading that Kingdom, and endeavour'd to maintain himself upon his old Throne, they managed Matters so well, that they forced the said unfortunate Prince to retire, and the Malecontents to desist, and at least to be quiet and hush, and seign Obedience.

But the old Cardinal XIMENIO (who the same Time was also Archbishop of Toledo, and who under the last King my Grand-sather had been prime Minister of State) assumed too much Authority over my Hadrian, and even at last began to disregard and slight the Orders I sent him from the Netherlands; nay, to persecute and oppress those Netherlanders upon whom I had bestowed Employments and Honours in Spain: Therefore I made haste to make my personal Appearance in that Kingdom, Anno 1517, when immediately upon my Arrival I discharged the old Cardinal from his Ministry in Temporal and State Assairs, under the smooth Pretext, that They should no longer be an Hinderance to him of his due preparing for his Journey to the Realms of Death, and of Crowning his Days with sweet Retirement and religious Peace.

I need not tell you my great Surprize and Wonderment at first, when I beheld the strange Manners and uncouth Customs of the Spanish Nations; for they affect a proud Singularity, and a peculiar Obstinacy, or a tenacious observing of old Usages, as Men above the receiving of Advice from

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from all other Nations, upon whom they look down with Contempt: But I was their King, and in Prudence obliged to conform my felf to all their little Ways, particularly to put on a prodigious Dravity, in Order to conciliate their Respect, and to increase their Love for my Person, which at that Time was not great; yet I was very fortunate in gaining the Hearts of the Spaniards from Time to Time, especially by the means of my vast Revenues, and the immense Quantity of Gold and Silver that was constantly brought from America, of which a very considerable Portion belong'd to the Crown; so that my Cossers being ever full and overflowing, I was well able to support my Friends, to carry on my Projects, and to court my Enemies by the most prevailing Argument the ready Raino, which I generously and profusely bestow'd on the chief Families of Spain, whereby in two Years Time I brought all Things to bear in my Behalf, and reduced the Malecontents to good Order, nay openly to declare and profess themselves my Friends.

And now the Spanish Nation reviv'd apace, the Kingdom flourished by profound Peace, rich Colonies, and a growing Trade; and I their King was address'd, lov'd, and fear'd by all my Neighbours, insomuch that it was generally thought that the better Part of Europe and Africa would, in Time, throw themselves down at the Feet of the Spanish Monarch, who, of all others, bid fairest for the sisth Universal Monarchy.

You, dearest FRANCIS, did soon perceive me to be full of that Grand Project, especially upon the Death of my Grand-father MAXIMILIAN the Emperor, Anno 1519, who left me the Hereditary Austrian Countries, and the Ambition to succeed him in the Imperial Throne; for you foon appear'd my Rival in that Promotion, deligning, no doubt, either to be the universal Monarch your self, or at least to stop my Carriere, which render'd it very painful, expensive, and difficult for me to obtain the Imperial Crown, tho' I left no Stone unturn'd to accomplish my End; for upon the News of Maximilian's Death, I fet out from Spain to Germany, attended with a very great Retinue of Crown and Cross PIECES, which my politic Friend the Count of NASSAU, and my other clever Agents, knew well how to marshal and dispose for my grand Purpose; Yet all the Count's Intrigues had prov'd abortive, and more than 800000 Crowns had been in vain expended in the Affair, if at last the Elector of Saxony FREDERICUS SAPLENS, for whom the Votes were carried, and who was duly and folemnly elected Emperor in the Electoral College, had not retuled to accept of the Imperial Crown, and by his Authority and mighty Influence

Influence prevail'd with the other Electors to chuse me to that Dignity. You have heard of Saxony's generous Soul, how he resused the great Sum of Money I offer'd him for his Interest; nay, and would not permit any one of the Ministers of his Court to accept of the least Reward; a rare Instance of unshaken Vertue among the Princes of Germany!

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Soon after my Election, I was crown'd EMPEROR at Aix la Chappelle, with the ancient and usual Solemnities, the Electors performing their Arch-Charges, and all forts of People from the highest to the lowest signifying their Congratulation in the best manner, and promising due Allegiance. And thus all Things succeeding according to my Heart's Desire, when mounted on both my Grand-fathers Thrones, and actually posses'd of more than the Dominions of Carolus Magnus; I was generally esteem'd as a bright Meridian Sun, the prime, the most puissant, the richest Monar Soldan with his immense and disorderly Numbers of People, or the Great Mogul with his sam'd Magnisicence and Splendor, who yet could not in Equity and Reason be said to have transcended me; because great Crowds without good Order and true Learning, cannot invest a Monarch with true Power, and the Account of the Splendor of the Asiaticks depends much upon the Veracity of Romantic Travellers, and is not well attested.

But all this afforded me not real Contentment; nay, the more highly advanced, the more uneasy I was at the least Check or Controul; and therefore design'd speedily to remove all Bars and Impediments of accomplishing my Grand Project, the first of which was the Liberties and Powers of the German Princes, which my Soul could not bear, and would have soon humbled and impaired them, if the Reformation had not interposed, and if you had not been jealous and uneasy at my growing Grandeur, and in Consequence had not retarded my Motions, and disturbed me on all Sides.

To return again to SPAIN, the late Revival of that Kingdom's Credit, Commerce, and Power, disposed the People to Rebellion, and to revive their old Prejudices against me in Favour of my Brother FERDINAND during my two Years Absence in Germany, and openly discover'd their Hatred not only of my old Preceptor Hadrian, who took Care of the Government, but even of all Netherlanders, thus endeavouring to thrust at me through their Sides, admiring Ferdinand because he was their oldest Acquaintance; and signifying how much happier they might be, if he was their King.

This Confusion began upon my leaving Spain, and increas'd so much in a Year's Time, that it gave you a fair Opportunity of disclosing and venting your Anger for having been neglected and postpon'd in the Election of an Emperor; and so resolving to be avenged of me, you invaded the Kingdom of Navarre, Anno 1520, restored Henry (the Son of John Albertan the deposed King) to his Father's Throne, and next Year made your self Master of Pampelona, the Metropolis of that Country.

Therefore I was forced to appear in Person again in Spain, Anno 1521, in Order to clear my self of those Difficulties add Incumberances, and to prevent the like happening for the suture; for which Purpose, I thought it convenient to resign to my Brother Ferdinand then in Spain, the Hereditary Austrian Countries, and so to remove from their Eyes the Darling of the Spaniards, that out of Sight out of Mind: Also I resolved upon sending off the Kingdom my Preceptor Hadrian; and gave particular publick Instructions and Orders to my Netherlanders in Spain how to behave themselves moderately and with good Manners towards the Spaniards upon all Occasions, especially in the Discharge of their several Employments under the Crown.

Upon which, I regain'd the Peoples Hearts; then bravely expell'd you from Navarre with your Pupil Henry, and establish'd Peace and Unanimity throughout all Spain so firm and true, that afterwards, even to my Death, hardly any Consuston happen'd, but it was the most peaceable, quiet and safe Country in the World, and abounded in Plenty and Wealth.

To look back into Germany; soon after my Accession to the Imperial Crown, I found every Thing in Consussion; for you know that two Years before, viz. 1517, a Monk of great Courage and Firmness arose in Germany, who by a peculiar Sagacity, and like one inspired, had found out to what Consussion and Ruin Christianity had been reduced by the many Errors, Abuses, Additions, and Corruptions of cunning Priests, which by Degrees were established as Articles of Faith, and who openly set up himself as a publick Resormer.

This broke all my Measures for reducing of the exorbitant Powers and Privileges of the German PRINCES, by creating many great Disturbances and Convulsions not only there, but throughout all Europe; so that I could not expect to accomplish that Point untill the Quarrels about Re-

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ligion were over, or unless one of the contending Parties should join me for the sake of ruining the other, which happen'd afterwards, but not enough for my Design; And because this Affair was the Spring and Source of most memorable Events, I shall give you, dearest FRANCIS, the concise History of it, as follows:

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This famous Man called MARTIN LUTHER was born Anno 1483, on St. Martin's Day, or the 10th of November at Eisleben in SAXONY, his Father Hanns Luther was a Mine-Digger, and dwelt in a Village call'd Mara near to Schmalkalden, and did all he could to keep his Son Martin at School, who made fuch Progress in Letters, Arts and Sciences, that Anno 1503, he worthity commenced Master of Arts at ERFURT, being then twenty Years old, and foon resolved to apply himself closely to the Study of the Law. But when next Year, 1504, the House where he lodged was fet on Fire by a Thunder-stroke that kill'd his Companion and Fellow-Student, he was moved to make a folemn Vow to enter into the Order of the Austin Fryars at Erfurt, and to renounce a secular Life, devoting himself to God in an Ecclesiastical Station. Thus God Almighty inclin'd and dispos'd this Man, and prepared him boldly to undertake the Work of REFORMATION, that was look'd upon to be as impracticable as the Converting of Heathen Princes and States at the first, when Christianity was planted, and was also attended with equal Perils to the Undertakers; and had not Providence miraculously affisted in this, as well as in that, the POPE had recover'd his Ground, and I had been the Universal Mo narch.

Huthet in a few Years made such uncommon and surprizing Progress in the Study of the Divine Sciences and Oriental Languages, that Anno 1508 Dr. John Staupiz, Vicar of the Austin Order at Thuringen in Misnia call'd and promoted him to be Professor at Wittenberg, where Anno 1512, on the 18th of Ostober, he took the Degree of Licentiatus, and the next Day was promoted to be Doctor Theologia, the Charges being defray'd by Fridericus Sapiens, the Elector of Saxony, and in three Days after, because of his vast Capacity and bright Genius, he was fully settled as chief Professor at Wittenberg, which University was founded by the said Elector ten Years before. Thus about twenty nine Years of Age, he was judged to be fully capable of that samous Chair of Theology, where about five Years he taught the Students of Divinity, surnish'd himself with all useful Knowledge relating to Religion, and laid the Foundation of that amazing Structure

Structure of the PROTESTANT CHURCH, but never had rais'd it, if Providence had not given him the following Occasion and Opportunity.

For now Pope Leo the 10th intending to build the famous Cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome after the Roman Stile, and being otherwise deeply engaged in Affairs that required also great Sums of Money, thought it a good Expedient to send his Absolutions to be sold over all Christendom; whereby, no doubt, he would have raised much more Money than he wanted, if it had been well manag'd. One of the Chapmen of this Commodity was John Tetzell of Pirna in the Province of Misnia in upper Saxony, who, tho' enough impower'd by the Papal Commission, was basely disposed to plague poor Christians, and to squeeze their Money from them, even beyond his Commission, forcing People into his Measures, and making such extravagant Demands, that I cease to wonder at the Opposition he met with.

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Luther particularly could not bear the wicked Insolence of Tetzel, but began openly to talk, preach, and write against him Anno 1517. On the contrary Tetzell, relying upon his Commission from Rome, made a Jest of Luther, tho' he knew his Commission impower'd him not to act so basely: Upon which, Luther made a just Complaint in due Form against Tetzell, first to the Archbishep of MENTZ, and afterwards to the POPE himself. But his Holiness not affecting such Enquiries into, and Discoveries of Matters Ecclesiastical and Religious, thought fit to cite Luther immediately to Rome; who having been there Anno 1510, in a Commission of the Austin Fryars, and narrowly observed the fine spun Politicks and strange Proceedings of the great Ecclesiasticks, thought it more prudent and safe to stay at Home than to obey that Citation; nay, he also wrote against the Pope and his Absolutions with so much Strength of Argument and Wit, that not only the said Elector of SAXONY Fridericus Sapiens (a Prince who had by his good Conduct obtain'd the highest Effeem and greatest Influence of the whole Empire) and the Landgrave of HESS, but several more Great Men, and many hundred Thousand People of all Sorts and Conditions in Germany, took his Part, and approved of his Doctrine.

Notwithstanding this, Luther was obliged to appear at Augspurg before the Pope's Legate the Cardinal Cajetan, who with all his Learning and Art was not able to convince Luther of an Error, to vindicate the II. Interview.

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Court of Rome's Conduct, nor to decoy him or bribe him from his intended Purpose by the powerful Baits of Honour, Power, and Wealth: But Luther sell upon a lucky Distinction, and prudently made an Appeal from an ill informed Pope to one better inform'd, and after all Events to a General Council. Upon this, George Duke of Saxony, Luther's avow'd Enemy, oblig'd him Anno 1519, to sustain a Dispute at Leipsig for six Days with the samous Heidelberg-Doctor Eccius; but the Duke's Hopes were disappointed, because Eccius could not conquer, and was rather worsted in the Argument; which prov'd convenient for Luther, and his Doctrine being more and more believ'd, did with great Applause spread it self far and near from Time to Time; and his learned Adversaries were intimidated and afraid of disputing with him because of his Learning, join'd with undaunted Courage, Vivacity, and Seriousness.

About a Year after this Disputation, the Pope, after having used all Means to reclaim Luther, at last proceeded to use his Vatican Thunder-bolts against him, and to put him under the Bann, or into Excommunication and Banishment; but his Holiness had done better to have desisted, for this brave Professor Luther discover'd his unconquerable Soul, by ordering the Pope's Bull, together with the Canon Laws, to be publickly and disgracefully burnt at Wittenberg; whereby he also confirm'd his Disciples in the Belief of his true and hearty Aversion from Rome, and Opposition to the Pope's Supremacy, and that he firmly intended a general Reformation.

The spreading of Luther's Doctrine, like Wild-fire, being like to set the whole Empire in a Flame, forced me to interpose my Imperial Authority, and to try how Peace and Union could be restored in the Church; for which good Purpole, I appointed an Imperial Dyet at WORMS, Anno 1521, and cited Luther to attend there, giving him also a free Passport. People that endeavour'd to perswade me with Confidence, that Luther would not dare to appear before me and that awful Assembly, soon found themselves mistaken; for when his cautious Friends put him in Mind how above one hundred Years before, viz. Anno 1415, the famous JOHN Huss. Profesior at Prague, was burnt at Constance, where the Synod decreed that the Church was not bound to keep her Promises to Hereticks; contrary to the publick Faith and folemn Promises made to him, with the Passport of the Emperor Sigismund in his Pocket, but violated by the Synod! Luther answer'd in a gallant Manner, that He was resolved to appear at the Dyet, tho' there should be as many Devils there as Tiles upon the Houses Houses of the City of WORMS! And was as good as his Word, by appearing there accordingly.

I must also acknowledge, that his Friends who disswaded him against going to Worms, gave him no ill Advice; for when in my Presence he was inexorable and firm like a Rock, not to be moved to make Recantation, I was by his Enemies much press'd and sollicited to have him arrested, in Order to be try'd as an Heretick; arguing from the said Synodical Decree, then too prevalent, viz. Fides non est adhibenda Heretico: Faith is not to be kept with an Heretick: But notwithstanding all this, I boldly told them, that though the whole World did break Faith and Troth, it sould be kept inviolable by EMPERORS. I must now confess I reply'd so then. more out of Policy than Sincerity, and chiefly to please the said E L E C-TOR Fridericus Sapiens, and to displease the POPE, who had lately much lost my favourable Esteem, and I was therefore glad to see his exorbitant and unlawful Authority and Power decreasing, and being also refolved to vex him, I came readily to think that in the Interim it would be no great Crime, nor do much Harm to the Church, if I acted with Moderation towards Luther, especially not having yet a sufficient Knowledge of his Doctrine, and not being therefore convinced whether it was Right or Wrong. But fince my Death I am certainly convinced that a divine Power ty'd my Hands, and over-rul'd all Luther's Enemies, from doing him Harm, as he was a chosen Instrument of Providence, duely qualify'd with natural and acquired Parts, and endued with an uncommon brave Spirit, or rather indeed a divine Afflatus of the Spirit of God was discoverable in his Deportment, Speech, and Conduct, against which it is impossible to prevail: But though I gave Luther Leave to depart from Worms in Safety; yet immediately, upon a Representation that all the Clergy of my Religion were mighty uneasy and disgusted at what I had done in this Affair, I was forced to please them again, even before I left Worms, by outlawring and banishing of Luther, and by certain Placards or Edicts, against his Person and Doctrine, and all that should prove his Followers, threatning them with the most severe Punishments.

As foon as the Elector of Saxonr had Notice thereof, and while Luther, that knew nothing of it, was on his Journey-Home, his Highness took Care to have him seiz'd like a Prisoner, on the Road from Worms in the Thuringian Forest, by some Persons in Disguise that secretly conducted him to the Castle of Wartenburg near Eisenach, where he remain'd for Ten Months, and well employ'd his Time in writing several elaborate Works for the illustrating, defending, and spreading of his Doctrine; which Castle K 2

therefore he was wont to call his Patmos, in Allusion to that Island where St. John received the Apocalypse.

About this Time Henry the VIII. King of England, to shew his mighty Zeal for the Church of Rome, took Pains to write smartly against Luther and his Doctrine, a thin Latin Book in Quarto, in Defence of Indulgences and the Seven Sacraments, and dedicated it to Sanctissimo Domino, nostro Domino Leoni X. Pont. Max. wherewith the Pope was so delighted, that he gave him the Title of Defender of the Faith, which Title the Kings of Great Britain still bear; but when Anno 1522. Luther had left the Castle of Wartenburg (tho' against the Elector's Will and Advice) and had return'd to Wittenberg, he sharpened his Pen, and resuted King Henry's Book with great Strength of Argument, and a vast deal of unlucky Wit. He also happily appealed the Noise and Clamour that during his Retirement had been raised at Wittenberg, about destroying of Pictures and Images in Churches.

Anno 1516, ULRICUS ZWINGLIUS arose in Switzerland, to oppose the Pope's Religion at Glaris before Luther, and began likewise, Anno 1519, to preach up Reformation at Zurich, tho' not altogether in Luther's Way, but differing in some Points; and tho' he was kill'd in a Skirmish, Anno 1531, yet a great many of his Adherents remain'd sirm and increas'd apace, until a sew Years after, Anno 1536, that John Calvin, a Canonist of Noan in Picardie, desended and improved the Doctrine of Zwinglius with such Ingenuity, Vigour, and Politeness of Stile, that it took Wings and slew through several Kingdoms, Commonwealths, and Provinces, where it still flourisheth among those call'd the Reform'd Protestants, tho' many of them have much alter'd their Stile, and are gone off from the hardest Articles of that Religion, as one Dr. South of Oxford, an English Divine, was lately saying with much Regret in the Cypres-Walk, to Jansenius of Pres.

Mean while, the Doctrine of Luther was diffused and received through Germany and the Northern Kingdoms; which occasioned the Demolishing of many Bishopricks and Cloysters, their Revenues falling in Course to the Prince of the Country, who is always the Church's Heir. Therefore it was generally believ'd, that the Bishop of Rome's widely extended Jurisdiction drew near its final Period, or at least that his Power would never be much regarded beyond Peter's Patrimony: But now it prov'd lucky for the Pope, that the Ecclesiastical Tribunal the Inquisition had been before introduced and established in the Reign of my Grand-sather Ferdinandus Catholicus, whereby the Spaniards were hinder'd from discovering

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the least Scruple in religious Matters, and forced to dissemble their true Sentiments, or blindly to reject and condemn what was rejected and condemn'd at Rome. In Italy also, the POPE and the Italian Princes took care to prepare against the Infection of the Northern Heresy, as they call'd it, by making fuch Orders and Laws, that every one became afraid of declaring what they believ'd, or of denying any Article even the least important of the SBB of Rome; because they knew their Fate by the rigid Execution of those Orders upon some that had been so bold as to differ from the receiv'd Opinions: So that the Doctrine of Luther and Calvin, tho' it reached those Countries, it was soon blasted or disappear'd by the severe Industry of the Court of Inquitation: And my Edicts or Placards in the Netherlands made too great Havock, I confess, among the Hereticks, having been fmartly fram'd, and yet more fmartly executed; which Example was too much follow'd by my Son and Successor on the Spanish Throne, who by introducing the Inquitition into the Netherlands, lost the Heart's of that People at length, which produc'd most difmal Effects, as we have been well inform d in Elyfium.

The mean while Pope Leo X. dy'd, and I had then Influence enough to raise my old Preceptor HADRIAN of Utrecht (who had been a Cardinal some Time) to the Papal Throne, Anno 1522. upon whose Exaltation the People of Utrecht and Holland express'd their Joy by writing on the Walls of their Houses, UTRECHT has planted, LOUVAIN watered, and the EMPEROR has given the Increase; under which an arch Fellow writ, God bas done nothing at all in this Matter: But, good Man, He himself shew'd no Boasting of his Advancement, and seem'd even to be uneasy with it, and piously desir'd the Prayers of his Friends for a faithful Discharge of his Great Office. This POPE of mine exhorted his old Friend and Con-disciple Erasmus to write against Luther, and to try to reduce by his Learning those that had stray'd from the Church; for in his Letter to Erasmus he profes'd an Aversion to employ the Church's Canons, or the Imperial Laws, for the reclaiming of Hereticks, saying, --- Now how greatly This runs counter to our Inclinations and Temper, is, we think, well known to you, ever fince we past our Lives together at Louvain. Yet this good Temper was overcome by ancient Prejudices and late Representations made to him of the Reformers having separated from Rome upon worldly Considerations only; and therefore He gave Advice to the DYET at Nuremberg, by the Bishop of Fabriana his Nuncio, to use Severity, if fair Means could not prevail with the Hereticks; and the same Time ordered that Bishop to signify to the Dyer, that He believ'd the Troubles in Germany, and elsewhere, are owing to the Sins of the Clergy,

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Clergy, not excepting some late Popes, who had been Guilty of many abominable Actions, whereby great Abuses had crept into the Church, and the notorious Contagion had prov'd universal, which he was resolv'd to Cure by a Publick Reformation, as it had been earnestly demanded from all Quarters; but that the Cure of this inveterate and powerful Evil could not be done at once, and that he must proceed Gradually and by little and little, beginning with the most important Things, lest the whole Constitution be consounded, or even dissolv' dby a precipitant Zeal.

This publick Declaration of HADRIAN much disgusted the Romish Clergy, and wrought no kind Impression on the Separatists in Germany neither, who look'd upon it as a Trick very common to the Popes, to own the Evil, and promise Reformation, without ever intending to perform it, in order to lull the Innocent asleep: And they made a Jest of what the Pope said about proceeding gradually; saying, That indeed the Popes had always proceeded cautiously, and Step by Step in these Matters; for they put the Distance of one Age between every Step They made. Tho' others of them had a better Esteem of his Sincerity, because of his Intimacy with Erasmus; but his Death prevented his intended Reformation on the 13th of August 1523, as some thought, by Poison; for when he was dead, his Face swell'd very much, and the Learned thought him too good for the Court of Rome, as he thought himself unfit for that exalted Station, according to his Epitaph, HADRIANUS SEXTUS HIC SITUS EST QUI NIHIL SIBI INFELICIUS IN VITA QUAM QUOD IMPERARET DUXIT. Here lies Adrian the 6th, who look'd upon his Supreme Power, or Papal Government to be the greatest Misfortune of his Life.

But where the new Religion was most prevalent, all the Tricks and Contrivances of Politicians and cunning Priests. with Placards, Prisons, Confiscations, Swords, Gibbits, Stakes, and other Instruments of Rome, were not able to give such an effectual Check to its Growth, as the Disputes and Schisms among the Resormers themselves did; especially that about the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which was afterwards call'd the Sacramental Mat, first between Luther and Karelstad, and then between Luther and Zwinglius, who was supported by John O Ecolompadius, and others, Anno 1525. And next Year came forth Luther's Book de Servo Arbitrio against Erasmus's de Libero Arbitrio, whereby the Pope gain'd no small Advantage.

On the other Hand the gross Ignorance of the far greater Part of the Romish Clergy, and the vile, vicious Lives of even the most eminent and learned

learned of them, together with their Falshood, their cunning Tricks, their monstrous Avarice, their haughty Insolence, their exorbitant and dangerous Power, and their horrible Thirst after Blood, discovering a special Pleasure in Heretick-Hunting, and more still in devouring the Prey; I say, these Things did very much facilitate the Reformation, and opened the Eyes of many learned and many great Men to see the Folly of their Progenitors, that indolently submitted to a Kingbom of Pitess, and were govern'd as Creatures without Reason; and when once their Eyes were open, neither the Vatican-Thunder, nor the Policy of the Conclave, could shut them; but bravely off they shook the Old Toke, with a solemn Resolution never more to submit, and zealously to oppose the Papacy, and to defend their several new Religions at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes.

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This was, no doubt, very foon discover'd; and I thought my self obliged again to call an Imperial Dyet at Spiers, Anno 1529, where the Pope Clement VII by his Letters, and his Nuncio, and the Romish Clergy, warmly press'd me forthwith to execute the A& of Banishment against Luther, and to extend it against all in general that shall adhere to his, or any other heretical Do&rine. This was a very ticklish and dangerous Assair, and foreseeing many terrible Consequences to sollow upon my complying with the Clergy's Request, I refus'd it some Time: But being tir'd out and overcome by their constant Sollicitations, and being inform'd that from Time to Time new Sects and Heresies arose in the Empire, and that many turbulent Spirits, under the specious Pretext of Liberty of Conscience, had dissufed among the People strange, ridiculous, and dangerous Opinions, whereby much Disorder and Consuson had ensu'd in several Places; I was prevail'd with, and persuaded to comply, and to deal resolutely with Luther and his Adherents.

But when John Constans, Elector of Saxony (who, Anno 1525. succeeded his deceas'd Brother Frederick Sapiens, whom I ever esteem'd and honour'd beyond all the Princes of the Empire) together with Philip Magnaniaus, the Landgrave of Hess, and the Princes of Brandenburg, Luneburg and Anhalt, and many Imperial Cities, perceiv'd that whether they followed Luther's Doctrine, or any other that was contrary to the Doctrine of Rome, they must be undone; because they saw that I was in Earnest in the Interest of the Romish Clergy, and determin'd to execute the said Imperial Bann with the utmost Rigour; they solemnly potessed against the Bann and the Execution of it with Unanimity and

fuch firm Courage, that I could not but alter my said Resolution, and so refused to comply with the sanguinary Importunity of the Clergy: And from this Time the Lutherans and others too, though not intirely of Luther's Opinions, that adher'd to this Protestation, were called PROTESTANTS, as all the Resormed Churches, and every Assembly of Christians who dissent from Rome, are so called to this Day in the Imperial Diets, in Treaties, and other publick Acts.

I was now fully convinced, that these PROTESTANTS had not the least Inclination to return to Rome; for their Dissent was declared to be hearty and sincere by their Protestation: Besides, they had sequestrated and impropriated the greatest Part of their Bishopricks, Abbies, and Ecclesiastical Revenues; and the Monks and Nuns, now turn'd Protestant, had also married, after Luther's Example, who Anno 1524, had quite thrown off the Fryar's Habit, and married Catharina von Bohren, that had been for several Years a Nun in a Cloyster near Grimma in Misnia; and in short, all their Conduct, both in Civil and Religious Matters, signified their fixed and rooted Aversion to the Church of Rome, and their bidding open Defiance to the Pope, and all his Adherents.

Nevertheless, I could not forbear appointing another Imperial Dyet at Augspurg, in Order to do what lay in my Power to bring back the Protestant States of the Empire from their Errors into the Bosom of the Church of Rome again. But when the said States upon my Citation did there all together appear, John Constans the Elector of Saxony at their Head, ordered his own Chancellor Doctor Christian Bayern (on the 25th of June, 1530,) to read in Latin and in the German Tongue Cipe Consession of their faith; which the Doctor perform'd with so loud and distinct a Voice, that he was even heard in the Streets and the neighbouring Houses.

I must confess my Heart was then much moved by the apparent Truth of several Articles, and much disposed to believe the others, which I did not so well comprehend; nay, the Article concerning the Pope's Authority and Power pleas'd me much, and I could have heartily agreed in it with the Protestants: But the Romish Clergy having perswaded me, that all perverse and wicked Practices were now shelter'd under the Name of Christian Liberty, and might be still more shelter'd if I countenanc'd the Protestants; that all the notorious and abounding Evils of the Age were commonly exclaim'd against as the Effects of Luther's Doctrine, that hence-

henceforth no Body would attend on Auricular Confession, but despite it, and never submit to heavy Penance; and consequently that People would not be afraid to sin, but would prove bold and daring Sinners; I say, these Considerations kept me steady and firm in the Interest of Rome, and the Protestants could not gain me. Therefore I resolved to declare War against them, and to try if I could humble them by Force of Arms; and thus I thought to have artfully fish'd in troubled Waters.

This Dyet foon ending with a general Difgust on all Sides, the Protestants readily apprehended a bloody Religious War to be unavoidable; and therefore wifely prepared for it, by Assembling in a Body at Smal-Ralden, where they enter'd into a Confederacy, and made a League Offensive and Defensive, whereby they were obligated to afford mutual Asfistance to each other in Cases of Necessity with their Lives and Fortunes. This Treaty was made at first for five Years only, but when it expir'd Anno 1535, it was renew'd for ten Years; and while it remain'd in Force, the Protestants were impregnable, and being most firmly united they bravely defy'd all the Designs and Attacks of their Enemies; nay, their Party encreas'd exceedingly, and waxed stronger and more learned; and at Smalcald, Anno 1537, they prepared Articles for a General Council: Nay, after the Decease of GEORGE Duke of SAXONY, the whole Country of MISNIA turn'd Lutheran, and join'd them under his Brother and Successor HENRICUS PIUS, Auno 1539. And this was done so quick and clever, that tho' at Easter in this Year all the Clergy were Roman Catholick Priests, at the very next Whitsunday, in a few Weeks Time, they were all Lutheran Ministers, and no Romish Priest could be seen in the Country: Besides, during these Years of Peace, the Dostrine of LUTHER diffus'd its Influence, and shone like a Rising-Sun upon Bo-HEMIA, SILESIA, several Provinces of POLAND, on DENMARK, NORWAY, and SWEDEN, and many other Parts; where, by the Means of a learned Traveller or two returned Home, or by a Sort of divine Inspiration, the said Doctrine of Luther would start up sometimes like a sudden Fire from the Earth, or like a Light quickly darted from the Heavens upon the Earth at Midnight, would alarm a whole Country at once. I have been often aftonish'd in Esplitim, to hear of the mighty Progress made also by the Doctrine of Zwinglius, Calvin, and many others among the Reformed Protestants, not only in Swis-SERLAND, GENEVA, SAVOY, PIEDMONT, and other Places near the Alpes, but even in many Imperial Cities, and other Parts of GERMANY, HUNGARY, and TRANSILVANIA, but especially in FRANCE, HOL-. II. Interview. LAND.

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vigation and Colonies have spread it in many Parts of America and the Indies: But I shall confine my Discourse within my own Time, and return to Luther and his Followers.

The Protestant PRINCES and States having often appeal'd to a free and General COUNCIL, I thought fit to demand it of the Pope. who feem'd always averse to it; because he fear'd the Result of it would be the Diminution of his Monarchical Authority, and the Reformation. of the Court of Rome; but at length he consented, upon Condition that not only He should always preside in it by his Legates, but even direct and confirm its Decrees at Pleasure. Indeed I was so desirous of putting an End to the Religious Differences and Disputes of Germany, that I wav'd my Privilege as Emperor, of Calling and Convocating fuch a Council, and left it to the Pope PAUL III. to convocate it by his Authority; tho' he was not so generous as to appoint it in Germany, where it was most wanted and defired, but first appointed Mantua, whose Duke declin'd it; then Vincentia, which was opposed by the Venetians; and having proposed to me Ferraria, Bononia, Placentia, and TRENT, I chose this last Place; and tho' the Protestants grievously complain'd of it, as not a fafe Place for them, yet there it met on the Calends of November 1542, whither I fent my two Orators MENDOZA and GRANVILLANUS, who met the Pope's three Legates with a few Bishops that first composed the Council. I must own they had too many Preliminaries, proceeded very slowly. and the Protestants had not the Liberty of exhibiting the Articles they had prepared at Smalkald, Anno 1537, for a free Council: But after the Religious War commenced, I was more inclin'd to stand by the Decrees of the Council of Trent than before.

It is very remarkable, that Luther abhorr'd a Religious War, and often declared, He was confident he had obtain'd from God, by earnest Prayer, that no religious War should happen in his Life-time; which Prophecy was truly accomplished; for Anno 1545, the Smalkaldian League expired, and the next Year 1546, Luther died before that War commenced, being sixty three Years old, 34 Years after he was made Doctor of Divinity, and 29 Years after he began openly to preach up Reformation in the Church, 25 Years after he appear'd before me at Worms, and 16 Years after the solemn Protestation at Augspurg, after he had the Satisfaction to see the Pope banished out of all those large Countries where the Protestant Doctrine prevail'd. He was a Man II. Interview

of undaunted Courage and firm Bravery, which his prodigious Undertaking required, tho' ERASMUS, (who was faid to have been decoy'd by the Clergy's Promises) and some others of the same sneaking and cowardly Temper, blam'd him for being hot, surious, and impatient; they not considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessation of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessity of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessation of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessation of Affairs required a Luther more than an Considering that the Necessation of Affairs required a Luther more than an Af

But after Luther's Death, tho' his Followers adher'd to his Doctrine, yet their happy Genius being departed, the Religious What began the same Year, when the Protestants under the Command of their chief Head John Frideric the Elector of Saxony (who Anno 1532, did succeed to John Constant then deceased) brought forth against me an Army of 100000 Men, and forced me to intrench my self near Ingoldstadt, because I was not strong enough to oppose him.

I had ordered the same Year, 1546, another Dyet at Augspurg, but the Protestant Princes and States did not there appear; nay, on the contrary, they peblish'd a Manifesto according to the Tenor of the Smalkaldian Covenant, for which I put them all into the Bann of the Empire, But they despised my Thunder, and immediately proclaim'd open War against me, in which Proclamation they left out my Imperial Title, on Purpose to vex me, and soon drew up their said formidable Army before my intrenched Camp at Ingolstadt.

All this put me in no manner of Fear; for when I saw them at first advancing, I said, Let them alone, they will soon stand in need of good Advice, of Provisions, Money, and strict Union! And afterwards when they began to batter my Camp very much with their Cannon, I said, Have Patience until this Iron Shower is pass'd over, and you will soon see fair Weather appear! Indeed I prophesy'd truly; for Duke MAURICE of the Albertinian Line of Saxony enter'd into a League with me against his Cousin the said Elector John Frideric, and assured me he would make him a Diversion by rushing into his Dominions, which he did accordingly at the Head of a considerable Army while I was thus attack'd.

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This surprizing Accident forced the Elector to retire from me, and to withdraw his own Men, in Order to march into Saxony for the Desence of his Country against the vigorous Invader; whereby the Protestant Army was much weakened and even dispirited, so that they thought sit to disperse and march Home the shortest Way; and my Friends saw I was not mistaken when at first I said, that this new Consederacy would not be long liv'd, or at least would not be able to effect any Matter of Importance against me, because it consisted of so many different Heads, and of such different Troops, without any Center of Union.

And now I gain'd Time to make all suitable Preparations against my Enemies, and forthwith did draw out of Spain and Italy my best Troops and Commanders, with whom, Anno 1547, I speedily marched thro' Bo-hemia into Misnia, and join'd my Friend Duke MAURICE before the Elector was aware of it, or was able to stop my Motion, or to attack Maurice before I could join him.

The Elector at that Time was encamp'd near Muhlberg on the River Elve, waiting there for the Rendezvouze of his Troops, which had not all come to him yet; and it happening that the Elve had then a very low Current, and not swell'd with much Rain from the Mountains, I cross'd it with all my Cavalry at a convenient Ford, by the Direction of a malecontent Boor, whom the Saxons had plunder'd of his Horse, and I was far from neglecting such a lucky Hit. When the Elector knew of this, and of my joining Duke MAURICE, and perceiving rightly that I would foon endeavour to give him Battel; he wifely endeavour'd to avoid it, by leaving that Camp, and drew off his Army, marching towards Torgau: But my Spanish General the Duke of ALBA pursued him so closely, that he was forced to halt on the Road not far from Muhlberg; and on Sunday the 24th of April this Year 1547, we came to a bloody Battel, in which I gained a compleat Victory, having kill'd 3000 of his Men upon the spot, and 1000 Men were made Prisoners, among whom was the Elector John Friderick himself, taken by Duke MAURICE's Soldiers, and deliver'd unto me.

When this Captive Prince appear'd before me, he address'd me thus, Most potent Emperor, I am your Majesty's Prisoner, and humbly request for a Prison suitable to a Prince: I reply'd, Am I now an Emperor! You shall have a Prison as you deserve. Then I ordered that he and the other Prisoners of Distinction should be put into the Custody of the Duke of Alba, II. Interview.

faying, Veni, Vidi, Deus Vicit! I came, I saw, and God overcame. And foon after I struck a Medal, upon which was an Eagle with a torn Rope at his Legs, and this Inscription, Laqueus Smalcaldensis contritus est, & liberi sumus; The Smalcaldian Snare is broken, and we have recover'd Liberty; to signify, that by the Loss of this Battle, and by the Captivity of the Elector, the SMALKALDIAN CONFEDERACY had received the Coup de Grace, a mortal Stroke and a fair Burial in the Field of War.

I foon marched thence, and fat down with my Army before Wittenberg, in which were the Elector's Wife and Children; but knowing the Strength of this Place, and that the Inhabitants would have made an obstinate Resistance, defending it to the last Man, whereby I must have suffer'd much Trouble, Loss of Time, and the Loss of many brave Men, I did not besiege it, but only in Sight of the Town I solemnly condemn'd the ELECTOR to Death, at which he seemed not in the least surpriz'd, but received his Sentence with a Princely Bravery and Equanimity. But the ELECTOR of Brandenburg, who affisted me in the War, offered his Mediation, and interceeded for the Captive Elector, whereby his Life was faved; though I confess I never design'd to put him to Death, but to frighten him only, and so to dispose him for signing some Articles which I laid before him, while Brandenburg was interceeding for his Life, and of which the most important were, 1. That he should acknowledge and consent to the Dictates and Orders of the Council of Trent, and of my self, or of any succeeding Emperor, in Matters of Religion. 2. That he should renounce for himself and his Posterity for ever, the Electoral Dignity and Dominions, and leave to me the Disposal of all. 3. That he should surrender to me the City of Wittenberg. 4. And should remain a Prisoner during my Pleasure: with several other. Things.

As to the first Article concerning Religion, he did bravely and absolutely refuse it, but agreed to all the rest; which Steadiness and Magnanimity moved me so much, that immediately, before his Face, I took the Pen, and blotted out the said Article with my own Hand: Wittenberg was soon surrender'd to me; and then the Priests and Spaniards importuned me mightily to have Luther's Corps digg'd up and burnt: but I reply'd, Let him lye, brave Man, I have seen him already at Worms many Years ago, I am Emperor over the Living and not over the Dead.

The Landgrave of Dels Philippus Magnanimus, was not come up to the Affistance of the Elector John Friderick at the Battle, else II. Interview.

perhaps it had gone against me, and I might have been their Prisoner; but when he found I had triumph'd over the Elector, he thought sit to use Means of Reconciliation, and desir'd to know my Terms: You may be sure I prescrib'd him pretty hard Conditions, such as to surrender himself once as my Prisoner, to beg my pardon publickly upon his Knees, &c. unto which he readily agreed and came to me at Halle for that Purpose; but when he had solemnly perform'd these Conditions, and thought he should be set at Liberty to go home and live in Peace, I notify'd to him by the Duke of Alba, that he was to remain my Prisoner; against which he made a solemn and legal Protest, appealing to the Promises I had given him in Writing that He should be dismiss'd without any Imprisonment: But the Cardinal Granvella, my Consident, had cunningly altered the word Einiges (any) to Ewines (ever) and made the sentence to import that he should remain a Prisoner for ever. And thus I got the Landgrave as well as the Elector in my Clutches.

Indeed I must own I have often repented of my hard and unprecedented Proceedings against these two brave Princes; but was then intirely under the Influence of the said Cardinal and the Duke of Alba, who join'd in perswading me to it, remonstrating especially, that the Landgrave being an ingenious Prince of prodigious Resolution and Resentment, would never put up the Affront, never be at Rest, but when once at Liberty would soon contrive Work enough for me, and find Means of liberating the Captive Elector, and of retrieving the Honour of the Smalcaldian Consederates, who had already sent their Envoys to the Courts of England and France, where they used their utmost Art for stirring up those two mighty Monarchs against me.

The next Year 1548, I convocated another Imperial DYET at Augspurg, where I solemnly conferr'd the Electoral Dignity of SAXONY, and the Dominions thereof upon my Friend Duke MAURICE, while the Captive and deposed Elector John Friderick was looking thro' a Window an Eye witness of that Solemnity. From MAURICE, who was of the Albertinian Line, are descended the present Electors of Saxony, and from the unhappy Elector John Friderick (who was born with the Mark of a Cross upon his back) the present Ducal Houses of SAXE-GOTHA, Weymar, and Eisenach, are deriv'd.

After this I order'd a Book called the INTERIM to be written by the joint Skill of those tearned Men, Julius Pelugius Bishop of Naumburg, II. Interview.

Michael

Michael Sidonius and John Agricola Islebius; designing to establish it as a Rule to all People in Matters of Religion in the Interim, or in the mean Time, until the present Controversies be intirely composed and settled by a General Council: But as in this Book nothing was yielded to the Protestants save two Articles, viz. That of the Lords Supper under both Kinds, and that of the Priests Marriages; they soon discover'd my Policy, and their own Danger, if they accepted of it, and had presently this Saying current among them, viz.

Selig ist der Mann Der Gott bertrauen kan, Und huter sich für das Interim,

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Blessed is the Man
Who trust in God can,
And is aware of the Interim,

Denn ein Schalk feckt hinter ihm. For a Rogue is hid therein.

And though several States of the Empire, in Complyance to me, had received and introduced this Book, yet a great many protested against it, particularly the Captive Princes in the most violent Manner, and also by Letters and Messages, they warned all their Friends against it, whereby they excited my Anger against them and much encreas'd it: Nor was the Pope at all pleas'd with my Interim or Inter-Religion, as he call'd it, and oppos'd it as much as the Protestants did.

Therefore I thought it expedient to exert my Imperial Authority, and began with proscribing the Cities of Cossnitz (or Constance) and Magdeburg, for their refusing to introduce my Interim: Upon which I sent a strong Detachment of my own Men, who besieg'd and took Cossnitz, which I perceive by the News is still possess'd by the House of Austria, and Magdeburg was conquer'd by the Elector Maurice in my Name and by my Commission.

The mean while I was daily importun'd from all Quarters with earnest Intercessions and solemn Remonstrances in behalf of the Captive Princes; for they were pitied, not only by the Princes of the Empire, but even by all the Courts of Europe, where in Consequence I must be hated and revil'd: But all Means were used in vain with me, being so much exasperated against them because of the Intersity, and instead of releasing them, I commanded they should be very ill treated; which inexorable Temper II. Interview.

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at last was the Cause of many Troubles, and made my very Allies to turn my implacable Enemies; for

The ELECTOR Maurice, who had most faithfully assisted me so long, when he saw he had no Instuence with me, as he of all Men had the best Claim to it, deserted my Party, and turn'd my worst Enemy: He had levy'd a very good Army, and the Commission I had given him against Magdeburg served him for a good Pretext; and having thus fortify'd himself at Home, he enter'd into an Alliance with your Successor Henry II. of France, that he might carry on his Designs the more safely and successfully; whereby I was much hamper'd, and suffer'd great Losses, as you shall hear.

When France took up Arms against me, the ELECTOR Maurice, with the Son of the Captive LAND-GRAVE, march'd directly upon me, and soon was possess'd of Augspurg, conquer'd the Fort of Ehrenberg, and pursued me so hard and close at Insprug, that I was forced to leave my Victuals upon the Table, and to sly in the Night thro' Mist and Rain. I lest behind me at Insprug, on purpose to mitigate the Enemy, the Captive Elector, who then gain'd his Liberty after sive Years Consinement; for my Flight was Anno 1552, and he became my Prisoner Anno 1547.

Upon this scurvy Accident, I thought it most prudent to endeavour to get rid of this new Enemy, in Order to act the more powerfully against the French in Lorrain that were making a mischievous Diversion; and therefore I offered to Maurice some new Proposals concerning the Captive Land-Grave Philip Magnanimus, (who, very fortunately for me, was not with me at Insprug, having lest him in Brabant,) and presently enter'd into a Treaty at Passau with Maurice and his German Friends, exclusive of the French, promising to confirm the said Treaty as soon as possible with a General Peace and Cessation from all Disturbance upon Account of Religion.

The Mark-Grave Albrecht of BRANDENBERG was highly offended at this Treaty, and oppos'd it in the most violent Manner; and the Affair coming to an open Rupture, he fell out with the Elector Maurice of Saxony, who raising each a Confederate Army, came into the Field, and join'd Battel Anno 1553, near Sievershausen in the Bishoprick of Hildesheim, and in the fore Conflict Maurice was kill'd by a Pistol-shot, and Friderick Dake of Luneberg, two Dukes of Braunschweig, Carolus II. Interview.

Victor, and Philippus Magnus, fourteen Counts, three hundred Noblemen, and four thousand Soldiers were kill'd upon the Spot; tho' the Victory remain'd on the Side of MAURICE.

I could have profited much by this further Discord among the Protestants, and could have render'd void the Treaty of Passau; but the divine Providence and Power had otherwise determin'd it, and I agreed at last to the General Peace or that great Cessation of the Religious War, whereby the Protestants obtain'd a full and unlimited Liberty in Matters of Conscience and Religion, at Augspurg, Anno 1555.

The Enmity I had conceived against the Pope's Power, the Strength alfo of the Turks, against which I wanted the Assistance of the German Princes, (for the Turks, Anno 1529, advanced even to Vienna, which they besieged for thirty Days, and assaulted it, they without Success, twenty Times) and the Tricks that you, dear Francis, and your Successor Henry II. play'd me from Time to Time, were the Means by which God ty'd up my Hands from executing my Resolution of stopping the Progress and blassing the Success of the Resormation, which, before I died, I perceived it was impossible to execute: And they the Inquisition in Spain, with the Rigour used in Italy, and the Placards and bloody Doings in the Netherlands against the Hereticks (as they were then call'd) did prevent the utter Ruin of the Papal Power, and the Abolishing of the Romish Doctrine; yet almost the Half of Europe has dissented and entirely separated themselves for ever from the Communion of Rome.

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Nor should the Pope's Adherents, the Roman Catholicks, be uneasy at the Reformation; for 'tis owing to LUTHER and the other Reformers, that henceforth the POPE must treat crown'd Heads and Magistrates with more Moderation, Courtely and Prudence, than in the dark illiterate Ages, when Emperors, Kings, and Princes were afraid of the Vatican Chunder, and stood in Awe of an infolent Priest. Besides, the Romish Clergy are also obliged to apply themselves with greater Assiduity and Accuracy to Literature and the Sciences, in Order to be able to defend their Doctrine against their very learned Adversaries the Protestant Clergy, who in my Time generally were Masters of the Field in all publick Disputations, and had more fine Scholars among them, than were to be found among the Romanists: Nor must it be disown'd, that all the Learned Men of that Time, whether Clergy or Laiety, either went over to the Protestant Side, or at least acknowledg'd the Ignorance and Errors of the Church of II. Interview. Rome. Rome, and wish'd for a Reformation, tho' they did not relish the usual Methods of the Reformers; except some bigotted Men, or byass'd by the Hopes of Preferment, who in spight of their good Sense and Learning, continued the Advocates of the Court of Rome. Nor can I deny that LUTHER, and the other Reformers judged rightly of the Time and Way of Reforming; for they laid hold of the present Time, and used the best Means they could in their Circumstances: Whereas, had they been decoy'd by fair Speeches, to wait untill a more convenient Opportunity offer'd, and untill the Princes of Europe had once join'd with the Pope and the Romilb Clergy in Reforming the Church after the most regular Way, they had done nothing; for that convenient Opportunity had never offer'd, and that Conjunction had never happen'd, nor would the Power of God have shone forth so illustrious by it, as by the Ways and Means used for accomplishing that great Work, by raising up some private People, and qualifying them with proper Gifts, and an heroical Contempt of Wealth and Grandeur. as in the Apostolical Age, to bring about such Changes as all Men, humanly speaking, thought impossible. 'Tis true, I was hugely offended at it, because it made my Government very uneasy, and perplexed my Affairs in Germany, tho' had I gone in to the Reformation, I'm now convinc'd I had acted the politick Part, had not been involv'd in so many Troubles, had put an End to the usurped Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, not only in my own Dominions, but even in most Parts of Europe, by my Example, my Alliances and Power, and so had establish'd a general Peace in Christendom, whereby all Christian Princes and States would have had Leisure and Inclination to concert Measures with me how to act against the common Enemy the TURKS without Fear and Jealousy of each other; but the Prejudices of Education, and the Industry of the Romish Clergy, kept me still under their mighty Influence, and my Eyes were not open'd till too late.

And yet I must own my Affairs were not embarrass'd only by Luther; for in Germany my Imperial Government was, from other quite different Causes, made uneasy and perplexed.

The Boogs in the Abby of Kempten in Swabia role in a Body, Anno 1524, against their Superiors, upon whom they exercised barbarous Cruelties; they massacred many Persons of Distinction, without Regard to Sex or Age, roasted the Nibility and Gentry on Spits, and forced their Ladies to turn them at the Fire, ravishing also the Nuns and other Virgins. Nor was this unparalell'd Rebellion only in Swabia, but, like a Plague, in II. Interview.

Afourish'd their Chief and Ringleader, an impudent Priest, call'd Thomas Munzer, who perswaded the poor and silly People, that They were God's redeem'd ones, and should not therefore abide Slaves to Men, but assert their glorious Liberty; nay, he even boasted he would catch the Cannon-Balls in his Gown-Sleeve, and assured them, that in Battel none of the Elect should be hurt, with a vast deal more of such whimsical Stust. But at length the neighbouring Princes utterly routed and destroy'd this disorderly Mob, when Munzer and his Companion Pfeisser were catch'd and beheaded for a couple of audacious Knaves, and after above 100000 of the unhappy Boors were slain, was the Uproar quell'd, and the rebellious Disease cured.

Annno 1522 began the new Self of the ANABAPTISTS in Swifferland, under Grebel and Mans (which was much oppos'd by Zwin Glius the Reformer,) and also in Saxony by Nicholas Stork; and Anno 1524, they were pretty numerous in Germany and the Netherlands; but as from Time to Time they increas'd in Numbers, they fell into a vast Variety of Enthusiastical and ridiculous Opinions, which very often proved dangerous to the State, as well as pernicious to themselves: For, Anno 1533, some of the Disciples of the said Munzer, and of Melchior Hoffman, and John Matthison the Baker of Harlem, made themselves Masters of the City of MUNSTER in Westphalia, which having early shook off the Pope's Yoke, they pitch'd upon it as their Place of Refuge, and Capital; and having assembled vast Numbers of their Sect from all Parts, they soon became too strong for the Magistrates, whom they banish'd with the Clergy and Burghers that would not submit to their Madness. The Principals of this Rebellion, besides the said Matthison, (who call'd himself Enoch,) were JOHN of Leyden, Knipperdoling, Rotman, van Kampen, and van Geelen, who plunder'd the Churches, and the Goods of all that fled or were driven out of Munster, burnt all forts of Books, except the Bible, violated all the Virgins above fourteen Years old, and openly declared for Polygamy, and that every Thing should be common amongst them.

Soon after the Bishop of Munster laid Siege to the City, Matthison was kill'd in a Sally: And the said John of Leyden a Taylor, and afterwards a Comedian, having run about stark-naked by the Influence of the Spirit, (as he said) took upon him first to appoint twelve Judges to govern this new Republick of Israel; and having massacred sifty one Persons that conspired against him, by Knipperdoling his Executioner, he proclaimed him-II. Interview.

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felf John King of Sion, and during the Siege was obey'd as a King, and ferved in Royal State; took to himself fifteen Wives, but made Matthison's Widow his Queen, and had a Crown of Gold set upon her Head; told the deluded People that God had presented him with the three Cities of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel; sent forth privately about twenty eight Apostles, who were mostly seized and put to Death, constituted his Accomplice van Kempen the Bishop of Amsterdam, and van Geelen the General of the Anabaptists, whom he sent to Holland and Frizeland with a great Sum of Money, (tho' both of 'em fail'd of their Plots, and were executed with their Accomplices;) publish'd his Book call'd, The Work of Restoration, in which he affur'd his Subjects, that the Kingdom of Christ was foon to be establish'd, in which the Godly or Elect should reign, and all the Wicked be rooted out; and that he was to prepare the World for that Kingdom, by subduing it to himself, and divided amongst his Followers the several Parts of the Empire, which they were, like Princes, to take Possession of, as soon as the Siege was raised, and he could march Abroad for that Purpose with them.

But this KING JOHN of Munster, having heard of the ill Success of his Plot upon Amsterdam, with the Death of his said Bishop and General, he was much perplexed in his Mind, and his Matters run into the utmost Confusion; yet kept the City as long as possible: for the Siege lasted eighteen Months, King JOHN having not only fortify'd it much, but furnish'd it also with an incredible Quantity of Provisions. At last the Famine began, and encreas'd apace, and when People faw that those Succours, which King John had so often prophecied and assured them of, were not like to arrive, one of his Officers offer'd to go out for Provisions, and took the Opportunity of betraying the City to the Commander of the Bishop's Army, who, by his Guidance, surprized it, and took the Mock King Prisoner alive on the 28th of May; and when brought before the Bishop of Munster, John proposed that the Bishop might well reimburse himself the Charges of the Siege by fending him about in a Cage for a Show, and by receiving a Penny from every one for the Sight of him: But the Bishop was above any Advice from him; and therefore on the 23d of January 1535, order d his Body to be pinched with red hot Iron Pincers for the Space of an Hour, and then being stabb'd to the Heart with a Dagger, he was hang'd upon the Top of the Steeple of Munster between his two Friends Knipperdoling and Mattheo; and then the Bishop established again a regular Government in Munster.

These Rebellions of the BOOZE and A NABAPTISTS, and all the mad. enthusiastical Tricks that were done in Germany and the Netherlands, (which would fill many Folio's,) were by the Romish Clergy imputed to LUTHER and the other Reformers, and I readily believ'd it; because such Things were not known in former Ages, and feem'd to be the Effect of that Liberty which most People took in reading the Bible, in reasoning upon it, and declaring their feveral Opinions of every Thing therein contain'd: But converfing upon this Point with the most learned Professor MelanEthon a little after my Arrival here, he argued wisely, that in former Ages the Bible was not got Abroad, but was lock'd up among the Clergy, whereby the Christian People were hoodwink'd under implicit Faith; that if ignorant People newly brought from the Darkness of the Papacy into the Light of the holy Scriptures, were at first astonish'd, and knew not how to use and interpret the Bible aright, it was no Wonder; that LUTHER and the other Reformers, their Enemies themselves being Judges, were hearty Enemies to the Enthufiasts, and to all disorderly and rebellious Persons, who cover'd their Knavery or Folly under the specious Vail of Liberty of Conscience, and the Influence of God's Spirit; that therefore all the Abuse, Madness, Enthusiasm and Rebellion of the Anabaptists and other wild Sects, was justly owing to the Romish Clergy, then generally ignorant or immoral or both. and who would not consent to a free General Council, nor to any speedy Remedy for that growing Evil, would never begin the Work of Reformation themselves, nor allow others to begin it, nor comply with proper and practicable Methods of Accommodation; and so in the Interim, People, either Knaves or Fools, laid hold of the Opportunity of doing, each, what seem'd good in his own Eyes, as the Israelites did, when there was no King in Ifrael: Nay, the good, learned and modest Melanethon, flatly told me, that even I my felf was a principal Cause of the Rise and Growth of the Anabaptists, and the other wild Sells, both in not giving in to the Reformation at the Beginning, upon my Advancement to the Imperial Dignity, and also afterwards in framing or executing the many terrible Placards in Germany and the Netherlands against them; so that they were kept up like a Boy's Top by Whipping, and multiply'd by Persecution.

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I must own to you now, my Dear FRANCIS, that since I came into Elysium, and not before, I have been well informed of the Innocence of many Anabaptists, that by my Placards, and the Severity of inferior Magistrates, were put to Death; for the their mad Frolicks and Rebellions gave the apparent Occasion of those Placards, yet in apprehending and II. Interview.

Reason enough, and the Severity of the Government was extended against all Anabaptists in general without Distinction, whereby often the Righteom suffered with the Wicked, and the Innocent with the Criminal.

But a vast Crowd of State-Affairs, and my leaving such Enquiries to my Cardinal and other eminent and high Church-men, (who I thought were most capable,) and my depending wholly upon their several Reports, (who I thought would not deceive me,) hinder'd me from Enquiring into those Matters my self, and from Examining into the Causes of those Placards, or into the Execution of em by inserior Magistrates and other Officers, or into the Springs and Principles of those Selfs, and whether or not they were owing to Luther and the other Resormers; therefore no Wonder I could never be savourable to the Doctrine of the Resormation.

I could never endure the Name of the Smalcaldian Covenant, but hated it as much as the Confederacy of the Swabian Boors, and found proper Means to put a Period to 'em both by Degrees; nay, and affifted in overthrowing the Hanfiatick Contract, which commenced Anno 1260, in the long Inter-regnum of the Empire, when fixty HANS Towns, or confederated Cities, engaged therein, whereof the greatest Part were in Germany. They divided themselves into four great Classes, viz. 1. That of LUBECK. 2. That of Cologne. 3. That of Braunschweig. And 4. That of DANTZICK. And erected four great Warehouses, I. One at LONDON in England. 2. At BRUGES in the Netherlands. 3. At BERGEN in Norway. And the 4th at NEUGART in Muscovy: But the City of LUBECK had the Directorship, and was the Head of them all. Their Grand Design was the Security and Growth of Trade and Commerce both by Land and Water; but they were an Eye-fore to me, often reliev'd my Enemies with Money, and entertain'd Hereticks and any other Fugitives that fled thither to be shelter'd from the due Force of Laws; and therefore I was glad to fee their Ruin begun, and much advanced in my Time, by the Encrease of Commerce in PORTUGAL, SPAIN, and the NETHER-LANDS; and now, by the News, I find that very little of this Confederacy remains, only Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen are still in Possession of that Title.

## ANDNOW

I must turn my Discourse to the Affairs of Italy and France.

II. Interview.

The House of SFORTIA, the ancient Lords of MILAN, being deprived of their great City and Dutchy, you, Dear FRANCIS, was possessed of it; and the Animosities between us, occasion'd particularly by my Promotion to the Imperial Throne, disposed me to form a Resolution of dislodging you my Rival out of Milan, which I executed gloriously, Anno 1521. And the you sent immediately an Army thither under General Lautrec, yet my Troops deseated him, upon his Arrival, in the Battel near Bicoca.

Two Years after, Anno 1523, you fent your Favourite the General Bonnivet with 50000 Men to recover Milan, but in vain; for he had the Misfortune to be defeat also, and by his ill Conduct ruin'd that fine Army: Upon this I penetrated, Anno 1524, into Provence, and besieg'd Marseilles; but without Success, and was forced to raise the Siege and return to Italy, after having lost many thousand Men, partly by the Sword, and partly by Sickness.

This unlucky Accident so much elevated you, that Anno 1525, you led an Army in Person into Italy, even in the Winter-Season; but Duke Charles of Bourbon, who by the Tricks of General Bonnivet was forc'd out of France, had fled to me some Time ago, and to whom I intrusted the Command of my Troops in Milan, used the utmost Expedition in gathering an Army sufficient to attack you, or to defend the Country; and tho' he delay'd to advance to the Relief of Pavia besieg'd then by you, yet he fell upon you afterwards with a Vengeance. You know he reach'd you on my Birth-Day, the 24th of February, and finding you in order of Bartle, he attack'd you that Day in fo vigorous a Manner, that your Army was put to Flight, and your felf taken Prisoner: When your General Bonnivet, who advis'd and perswaded you to this Expedition, saw the Battle was like to be loft, and your Army brought into Confusion, and almost routed, he grew desperate, and rush'd into the Thick of my Army, in order to meet his Death; and when after the Battle his Corps was found, the Duke of BOURBON trod upon him, faying, Malheureux, Tu es la Caufe de la Ruine de la France, & de la mienne : Wretched Fellow, Thou art the Caufe of the Ruin of France, and of mine too. This Victory afforded great Booty to my Troops, and you, as my Booty, was carefully fent to Madrid in Spain.

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When you arriv'd there, I allow'd you not the Privilege of coming into my Presence, far less to eat at my Table, or to converse freely with the II. Interview.

me, and interceed in your own Behalf; but your worthy Sister MARGA-RETA Dutchess of ALENÇON (commonly call'd Decima Musa, and Quarta Charis) came to Spain, and apply'd herself to the Duke of Bourson, hoping by his Influence to procure your Liberty. I can't forbear smiling when I remember how the Duke and I tristed with that pretty Lady, decoy'd her to stay, with a faint glimmering Hope of Success in her Negociation, and sometimes plainly assuring her of it, until the Time of her Passport was almost expir'd; and she justly perceiving that I design'd to arrest and detain her as my charming Prisoner, got on Horseback, and rode at the Rate of twenty Spanish Miles a Day, until she came upon French Ground, which was only a few Hours before the Expiration of her Passport.

After I had detain'd you fifteen Months, I call'd a great Council to deliberate how I should at last dispose of you: Several of my most able Counsellors and Ministers were of Opinion, that I should never let you go, but detain you in perpetual Imprisonment; because then France must be perplex'd by intestine Broils, disabled to offend her Neighbours, and brought at length to utter Destruction, which they said ought to be the Defire and Endeavour of every true Spaniard, and even of most Nations, especially of the Germans, and particularly of the Emperor. Others of them faid, that I should force you to agree to several hard Conditions, and Thould fee them executed before you was enlarged, and fent Home; which Advice, I now think, had been the most advantagious for me. And some perswaded me to make a Precedent and an Example of extraordinary Generolity by letting you at Liberty at once, in the most honourable Way, upon the fole Condition of your concluding a Treaty of Marriage with my Widow-Sifter ELEONORA: but at first I rejected that Motion, until the Duke of ALBA perswaded me to oblige you to sign several hard Conditions, and immediately fet you at Liberty.

In Pursuance of his Advice, I sent you the following Articles.

I. To yield me all your Pretensions to the Dutchy of Burgundy, and to give it up.

II: To renounce Milan for ever, and never to disturb my Possession of it.

III. To take and hold Flanders and Artois as a Fief from Spain.

IV; To marry my Sifter ELEONORA.

II. Interview.

V. To pardon the Duke of BOURBON.

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VI. To give for Hostages either your Sons, or your twelve Chief Officers.

VII. To come and render up your self my Prisoner at Madrid, in Case of Non-performance of these Articles.

All these you folemnly sign'd.

But my wise and honest Chancellor GATTINARA, foreseeing I should be cheated, would not fix the Seal to this Treaty, and I was forc'd to fix it with my own Hand; nay and even to sollicite a long Time, and importune Gattinara, before he would resume his Post as Chancellor, and take the Seals again. He prophesied truly; For

As soon as you escaped out of the Cage, and arriv'd in France, you gave out that it was not in your Power to alienate any Thing that pertain'd to the Crown and Kingdom of France, without the Consent and Approbation of the Parliament at Paris; you made a Noise of being ill used while my Prisoner, complain'd of Violence done to you, and artfully made your People believe that you ought not to observe those Articles because you had sign'd them in Durance, and while under Force and dire Necessity, and amused your self by building a Palace near Paris, which you named MADRID, saying in a jocose and bantering Manner, that You would keep all you had promis'd in Madrid.

This occasion'd a new War, and soon provok'd me to call you a Liar, a false and perjur'd Man, and withal threaten'd how I would treat you if ever you came again into my Clutches. Nor did you owe me any Thing of this Kind; for you express'd your self against me in a most injurious Manner, and challeng'd me at last to a Duel, which was not brave and generous; because you knew very well I was grievously distress'd with Gravel Pains, the Gout, and many other Ailments, whereby I could not readily accept of your Challenge, which otherwise I had done.

At the same Time Pope Clement VII. began to be jealous of my growing Power, and being mighty desirous to curb its Growth, combin'd with you against me in this new levied War: Upon which, I sent II. Interview.

my brave Duke of BOURBON with a Commission to besiege and take ROME, and to send me the POPE in Chains. Accordingly the DUKE drew forth my victorious Troops, marched directly to Rome Anno 1527, and by a bold Assault soon conquer'd it, but in the Action he was kill'd, to my great Grief, and left the Command to the next General.

When my Soldiers enter'd the Town, the Pope retired into the Castle of St. Angelo in that City; and many lost their Lives, being squeez'd to Death by the Croud, while struggling to get into the Castle, as the others that were kept out fell into the Hands of my Soldiers, who massacred them without Mercy; so that the vast Number of dead Bodies in the Streets brought forth a Stench that caused a Plague.

The other Inhabitants of Rome were forced to leave all to the Difcretion of my Soldiers, who thus obtain'd so rich a Booty that they knew not what to do with it, and for an Amusement often play'd at Hazard for whole Handfuls of Ducats, other Money, or Jewels. Nevertheless, I had Reason to wish this Booty had never fallen into their Hands; for the Germans and Spaniards quarrell'd much about it, they were ever engag'd in Duels, and many of em, by their expensive and extravagant Way of Living, dwindled into Poverty again; tho' this Condition prov'd now insupportable, after they had tasted the Sweets of Wealth; and several of em grew melancholy and desperate, and drown'd themselves in the Tyber; many were cut off by the Plague; and others that would retire Home with their Booty, sell into the Hands of the Italians on the Road, and soft their Lives and Booty both; so that sew of em return'd that thus had ravag'd Rome.

When I receiv'd the News of the ill Situation of the Pope's Affairs, you may be fure I was very much rejoyc'd, tho' the same Time afflicted that by the Spoil of Rome such wild Excesses had been committed, particularly the Ravishing of Virgins, &c. And in Order to perswade the Spaniards of this my Grief and Sorrow, and to blind the World with a Notion that the present State of the Pope was to me very disagreeable and lamentable, I forbad all Pleasures at my Court for some Time, insomuch that the Birth-Day of my Son then born was not celebrated; ordering likewise, that in all Churches Prayers should be daily made for the besieged Pope; and I wrote to Henry VIIL King of England, endeavouring to perswade him, that what had happen'd ought not to be attributed to my Military Orders, but to a divine Judgment.

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11. Interview.

In the mean Time, while the Pope is closely shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, Provisions there became scarce, while my Soldiers constantly rail'd at him and banter'd him; for they dress'd a Soldier like Dr. Luther, and made him Pope; nay, cruelly hang'd on a Gallows over-against the Pope's Windows a Woman for having endeavour'd secretly to convey a little Sallad into the Castle: So that the Pope being greatly reduc'd, after a Blocade of seven Months, was forced to capitulate with the Commander of my Troops, and agree to all the Proposals made him according to my Instructions, besides the Obligation he sign'd to pay me 400000 Crowns in ready Money: Upon which, an entire Agreement and Peace was concluded between me and the Pope; and therefore, tho' hitherto he had refused to crown me Roman Emperor, he now readily comply'd and perform'd that Ceremony with great Decorum at Bononia, Anno 1530.

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But to look two Years backward; while my Troops were engaged in thus humbling the Pope of Rome, you fent your General Lautree into Italy with a very fine Army, who by the Help of the Venetians took Alexandria and Pavia, and advanced even as far as Naples, designing to conquer that Kingdom: But he fail'd grossly of his Aim; for laying Siege to that Capital, Anno 1528, he foolishly order'd his Men to cut the Water-Courses of that City, whereby the Water swell'd hugely round it, stagnated, and grew stinking, and at length raised such a Plague that the General himself, and the greatest Part of the Army were by it cut off: And you know how the Remainder of your Troops were cruelly treated by the Neapolitans; so that I may say your whole Army was utterly destroy'd.

Upon this Rebuke of Providence, you discover'd a mighty Disposition for having Peace restor'd, nor was I averse from it; and therefore it was done, Anno 1529, at Cambray in the Netherlands, of which Treaty the chief Articles were, That you should renounce all Claim and Pretension upon Artois, Flanders, Naples and Milan, and redeem your two captive Hostages with two Millions of Dollars; should marry my Sister Eleonora, and settle the Dutchy of Burgundy upon the Children of this Marriage. Upon which I restored the last Duke of MILAN Francis Sfortia, and reinstall'd him in Possession of his Dutchy.

Yet this Peace lasted but sew Years; for you could not forbear covering your beloved Milan; and in Order to obtain it again, you at first, II. Interview.

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Anno 1535, quarrell'd with Charles III. Duke of Savoy, whom you foon conquer'd, and whose Country you took Possession of without much Pains and Difficulty: And then upon the Death of the said Francis Sfortia Duke of Milan, you shew'd your self the more greedy and eager to swallow up that delicious Morsel too.

Could you then expect I should be an idle Spectator of your Trophies? No; and therefore I again invaded Provence, and laid Siege to Marseilles a second Time: But in spight of human Views, this Expedition was fruitless, and my Army that consisted of 60,000 essective Men, was again ruin'd by Sickness and other Accidents. But I oppos'd you with more Success in the Netherlands; for my strong and gallant Army frighten'd you so much, that you thought it expedient for your Safety to enter into an Alliance with Soliman the Turkish Emperor, who sent to your Assistance a Fleet into the Mediterranean, which insested the Coasts of Spain. You know this Conduct of yours was wholly new, and very much alarm'd the whole Christian World; it having never been heard and known before that any Christian Potentate should enter into Alliance with the common and hereditary Enemy of Christianity: But some of your Successors have improved upon your Example, and discover'd rather a more Antichristian Disposition, as we are here inform'd by late Accounts.

At last, after many Battels and Devastations, upon the Intercession of Pope Paul III. we enter'd again into a new Treaty of Peace, Anno 1538, and made a Truce for ten Years at the Town of Nice, between Provence and Piedmont; where You, and I, and the Pope had a personal Interview. You may remember our Conversation was very agreeable, whereby so good an Understanding was amongst us establish'd, that we all three met again that same Year at Aigues mortes, where we entertain'd each other with much Honour and hearty Considence in our mutual Friendship.

This inspired me with the Boldness, Anno 1539, of venturing to go thro' the Midst of France to the Netherlands, in Order to reduce into Obedience the City of Ghent that had revolted, and was in an Uproar. But when for this Purpose I sent my Envoy to desire of you free Passage, you gave me to understand by the Duke of Montmorancy, that for this Favour I must entail upon you and your Heirs the vacant Dutchy of Milan, and resign all my Pretensions to it; and I sent the Duke this short and ambiguous Answer for you, viz. What II. Interview.

the King of France wills, that I will also. But the same Time order'd my Envoy to remonstrate to You and the Duke, that you should take my Honour for that Investiture and Entailment, and not insist upon it at this Time, in Order to avoid the Reproach of your Selling to me, and of my Purchasing of you this Thorowsair in Time of Peace, which, I bid him tell, ought to be avoided, if we had a due Regard to our Royal Characters, which we ought not to sully, at least so publickly.

This amus'd you at this Time; and being satisfy'd with my Answer, you dispatch'd my Passport, or Letters of safe Passage, thro' France, by certain proper Officers whom you sent to attend me on the Road, with your two Sons who met me at Bayonne, as you met me your self in the Province of Berry. I own I was handsomely and magnificently entertain'd every where on the Road, and with all imaginable Splendor by you conducted to Paris, at the Entry of which City you was pleased to order the HIGH CONSTABLE of France to carry the Sword before me.

I stay'd at Paris with you seven Days, in which happen'd several very remarkable Things; for, the first Night I lay there, when I came into my Bed-Chamber, I found an extraordinary handsome Young Woman in my Bed, whom you had artfully convey'd thither on Purrose to gratify me: But I overcame this great Temptation, to your great Surprize, and without knowing her I dismiss'd her civilly. You order'd the Jewellers of Paris to stand in Shops upon a certain Bridge with their Jewels in great Shew and Ostentation, that I might, pasfing along, admire their Wealth; and when you brought me thither, you was not a little surpriz'd to hear me say, that I had a Merchant in Augspurg, who dealt in Yarn, rich enough to buy all these Jewels with ready Money! Nor was this a vain Boasting or a Redomontade (tho' perhaps you might think it so) for his Posterity are well known in Swabia, and still flourish with the Title of the Counts of Fugger. I remember also when I asked some of your Grandees, which was the finest Town in France? They told me ORLEANS; and when I wonder'd they had not nam'd Paris, they answer'd me, that PARIS was not a Town, but a World. With many other odd Passages.

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When at last it was privately hinted to me, that you was resolv'd to arrest me at Paris, and detain me your Prisoner, by Way of Reprizals, and until I should grant you the Dutchy of MILAN, &c. you may be II. Interview.

fure I was very uneasy, though I did not let you know so much, and used all politick Expedients to avoid such a scurvy Accident; particularly knowing well that the Princess of Estampes was your beloved Mistress, and had the full Ascendant over you, I drop'd designedly at the Table a very precious Ring from my Finger, which she took up, and presented it to me again; but I refus'd it, and told her, that in Germany there was a Law according to which an EMPEROR could not receive back what once he had drop'd; and importun'd her also to keep that Ring for herself, in Remembrance of me: This Civility and the Manner of it wrought so upon her, that she did heartily espouse my Interest, and employ'd her great Influence with you in my Behalf, in so much that I know you alter'd your Resolution of detaining me, and determin'd to let me pass free and safe into the Netherlands.

Setting out from Paris you conducted me to Amiens, and your Sons attended me to Valenciennes; and some of your Ministers, upon my Arrival in Flanders, by your Order, put me in Mind of my late Promise to grant you Milan for ever; but I shew'd them that neither they nor their Master understood my Words; for that I never made any such Promise, and only faid, WHAT IS THE KING OF FRANCE'S WILL, IS MY WILL Also; whereas these Words are capable to be thus explain'd, But the King of France willeth to be Lord of Milan, and I will the same: And then gravely excus'd my felf from performing any fuch Promife, if it were a Promise, by telling them that I could not without the Consent of my Brother Ferdinand, as King of the Romans; which was as good an Excuse as what you gave me for not performing the Articles of Madrid; and fo I paid you in your own Coin.

Upon this Disappointment, you was provok'd to make new Preparations for War against me, and to break the Ten-Years-Truce (that was made at Nice, Anno 1538,) how foon you was in a Readiness for War: Therefore when, Anno 1541, I prov'd unsuccessful in my African Expedition, you wanted to profit by my Lofs, hoping now you might reap some Advantages over me; and with that View did you open the Theatre of War at once in Luxemburg, Lorrain, Italy, and Navarre, when at first Fortune feem'd to favour you to my Cost; for Anno 1542 you handsomely drub'd my Troops in Italy near Cerifolles; though you was not successful in your Siege of Perpignan; as also in the Netherlands you suffer'd grear Damage. At last Henry VIII. King of England, join'd with me into an Allyance against you, and then we brought an Army into the Field of 100,000 Men, intending to march straight to Paris: For my Part, I was in good Earnest, and had already penetrated as far as the Castle of Thierry; but Harry soon gave me the Slip again, and I suppose he never meant to act more honourably by me, than he acted by you, Anno 1528, when you two were ally'd against me: Therefore he amus'd himself so long before Bouloigue and Montreil, that the Season was gone for executing our well-laid Design, and so our Forces never join'd.

In this Situation of Affairs I again declar'd my sincere Inclinations for Peace, which was also happily concluded between us, Anno 1544, at Crespy en Valois, which was our last Treaty, and finish'd all the Hostilities that in our Life-time we exercis'd against one another.

As to what concerns the Affairs of the Netherlands, my Father at his Departure for Spain left behind him the Duke of Croy, as the Governor of those Provinces, who the same Time was my Major-Domo, or Steward, and after my Father's Death he continu'd in that Employment till Anno 1513, when my Aunt Margaret of Austria, (a Daughter of the Emperor Maximilian my Grandfather) took the Stadtholdership upon her, which I let her administer after I became King of Spain and Roman Emperor, until she dy'd Anno 1530. And then I conferr'd the Place on my Sister Mary the Queen of Hungary, whose Husband King Lewis had unhappily lost his Life at Mohaz in a Battle against the Turks, and she posses'd the Stadtholdership until I took her along with me to Spain Anno 1555.

I had so great a Love for the Netherlanders, that once I allow'd a Cib'er of Ghent, who came to see me in Spain, to sit down next to my Throne, and, in the Presence of the proud Spaniards, I entertain'd a Chit-Chat with him: And by many other Instances of my Love to them, they all esteem'd and lov'd me again so much, that they were ready to lose their Blood and Life for me; of which I had many Evidences, particularly in the Great City of Ghent, (which is not inferior to Paris in Bigness) Anno 1539, when a great Uproar happen'd, my Instuence was so general and strong, that as soon as I arriv'd there, and shew'd myself among the Mob, they were immediately quiet, and the Insurrection was appeas'd.

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I added four Provinces to those thirteen my Father left me; first Groningen, Anno 1521, was obliged to submit herself to my Government; and Anno 1529, Overysel and Utrecht acknowledged me for their Lord: Then, Anno 1543. I drove the Duke of CLEVES (who was always mine Adversary) to such a Strait, that he was forc'd to yield up to me the Sovereignty of the Dutchy of Geldern: And when I had got the Lordship of the whole 17 Provinces, then I intended to constitute them into one Body, and establish a Royal Government therein; but was hinder'd by the peculiar Laws, Customs, and Privileges of each Province, which they were very tenacious of, and without they had frankly given those up, and received from me new Laws and Privileges that might agree with a general Government of the whole Provinces united, my Project could not fucceed. Yet I made of them the Tenth Circle of the Empire, and call'd it the Circle of Burgundy, that so Germany might always keep it as a Part of the Empire, conjoin'd with the other Circles, and in Confequence might have a just Claim to take its Part, and preserve it from all Invaders, especially the French; because already I foresaw that France design'd to swallow up the Netherlands, which must be hurtful to the Empire: Besides, when I waged War at any Time against you, the Netherlands afforded the best Theatre where the greatest Army could be best supply'd, and from whence I could most securely and successfully distress you, as no doubt you will own.

I will now relate what happen'd in AFRICA.

I had in Bathaty perpetual Contests with the Emperor of FEZ and MAROCCO, endeavouring always to render my Name terrible among the Africans; so that when the Turkish Admiral BARBAROSSA expell'd the King of TUNIS Dulp Assem, I shelter'd him, and he sound a safe Retreat with me: Nay, Anno 1553, I restor'd him to his Throne in great Authority and Splendor, and besieg'd the Fortification of Goletta with a considerable Army.

The City of ALGIER that can muster 200000 Men, a very considerable Fort, and very advantageously situated, did in my Time (as she still does) much insest the Seas, and by her Pyracies much hinder'd free Commerce; whereby I was not a little provok'd to form a Resolution for destroying that Den of Thieves, that Nest of Robbers: Therefore, Anno 1541, I sail'd a considerable Fleet before it with many sine Troops aboard, II. Interview.

by which I maul'd that City severely, and reduced the Inhabitants to such grievous Straits, that they were upon the very Point of surrendering: But Heaven would not consent; for on a sudden arose a violent Storm that soon dispers'd and ruin'd my Fleet; and my self was for some Time reckon'd among those that were swallow'd up by the Waves. This was a very heavy Loss, and a wretched Disappointment.

It remains next to tell you what happened in LORRAIN towards the End of my Government; for when we were engaged in War against each other, you was often willing to try your Fortune there, tho' without the desired Success: But after your Death, when MAURICE Elector of Saxony declared War against me, your Successor HENRY II. Anno 1552, enter'd into an Alliance with him, and making a fudden Irruption into Lorrain, took, partly by Stratagem, partly by Force, the three Bishopricks of METZ, Tull, and Verdun, and the Cities thereof. Upon this, I made Peace with Maurice, and immediately enter'd Lorrain with 100000 Men, and laid Siege to METZ, but in vain; for I could perform nothing Grand with all that Force, and began to perceive my felf wholly abandon'd by Fortune; at which I was mightily furpriz'd: But an old Officer in my Army perceiving my Surprize, faid gravely, Most Gracious Emperor and Lord, your Majesty must not wonder that Fortune begins to forsake you; for she is like the young Maids that keep to young Fellows, and use to fly from old Men; and then he begg'd I would discharge him from the Service, for that he was mighty desirous to spend the Remainder of his Days in fweet Retirement and religious Peace. I readily gave him his Discharge; for his Words and Resolution made a lasting Impression upon my Mind, which produced many grave Reflections, and I foon refolved to follow his Example.

Yet Peace could not be immediately concluded betwixt your HENRY and me, and the War lasted until Anno 1555. At Vaucelles near Cambray a Truce was made, on Condition, that mean while he should keep Possession of the said three Bishopricks, which I hear are even to this Day annexed to the Crown of France.

And now at last when this Truce was concluded, I resign'd entirely all Imperial and Royal Government at GHENT where I was born: I lest the Imperial Crown to my Brother FERDINAND, and the Austrian Hereditary Countries: But to my Son Philip (born to me by my Portugal Wife Is ABELLA, whom I married Anno 1526,) I gave Spain and the II. Interview.

Indies, and all the rest of my Possessions, deducting and excepting only for my Maintenance no more than 100000 Ducats of Annual Rent, or Yearly Income.

Then I departed for SPAIN, and retired to the Cloyfter of St. Justus in the Province of Extremadura; which Place I chose long before, in case I should retire from the World, when I was much delighted in it, upon a Journey I made into Portugal. There I attended with the Monks on Divine Service, and was as diligent and zealous as any of them, if not more; for once when I awaken'd a young fleepy Brother Monk, and call'd upon him to rife to his Devotion, he gave me a snarling Answer, call'd me Names, and said, Can you find no better Bufiness? After you have plagued the whole World, and disturb'd its Repose, are you come to plague us too? If you can't sleep and be at Rest, can't you let me alone to enjoy mine? I was oblig'd to bear fuch Usage, after I had degraded myself to turn Monk: yet I had my Amusements and Diversions as well as Devotions; for I employ'd my Time in Gardening and in Mechanical Operations, which I always delighted in, and when I thought fit I rode upon a little Pad, and took an Airing in a pleafant Vale near the Cloifter. I had twelve Servants to attend me, and all other Accomodations of a private Gentleman, with a Parcel of useful Books. and thought at first to have enjoy'd much Pleasure and Heavenly Delight in that Solitude, but was much disappointed.

For besides that my Son PHILIP King of Spain did not handsomely pay my Pension (for which all wise Fathers upon Earth have been ever fince averse to resign all to their Children before they die) I came to understand how poorly he had improv'd his Victory at St. Quintin, whereby he might have immediately gone to the Gates of PARIS; and the other at Graveling obtaind for him by Count EGMONT: How the Duke of Guise had taken Thionville to secure Merz, and Calais also from the English, that had been in their Hands about 210 Years: so that the' Arno 1554 my Son PHILIP (Prince of Spain, and whom I made then King of Jerusalem and of Naples) marry'd at London MARY Queen of England; and tho' in his Wars against Henry II. of France, the ENGLISH bravely affisted him both by Sea and Land, and particularly obtain'd the chief Honour in the Battle of St. Quintin; yet this Marriage and Alliance prov'd not happy for them, because PHILIP knew not how to use his Tools, how to improve such considerable Advantages; as my Daughter in Law the said Queen MARY, inform'd me, when she arriv'd a few Months after me into the Bealms of Death, and even confess'd that Il. Interview. my

my Son's Conduct made her melancholy; and the Loss of Calais, the Key of France, broke her Heart. I say, when I heard in the Cloister how pootly my Son govern'd, how he despis'd my Counsels, and ridicul'd my Conduct, turn'd out my faithful Servants, convers'd in all Companies with an insipid and forbidding Gravity, which the English abhor'd; let Henry of France make a Fool of him, and that he became the Jest of all the wise Men in Europe, especially for being so much hood-wink'd by the Clergy, and their sole Property: I own I was much disquieted, and sound that tho' I had lest the World, I was not freed from its Cares, and enjoy'd but little Repose in that delightful Solitude; for that I judged my Peace depended upon my Son's Behaviour, whose wretched Conduct spoil'd my Tranquillity, and with other Concurrences hasten'd on my Exit.

At last I paid the Debt of Nature, and finish'd my Days upon Earth on the 21st of September 1558, in the 58th Year of my Age, about two Years after my Abdication. In my last Hours I was well-disposed in Mind, and with Judgment and Sincerity I built all my Hopes of everlasting Happiness upon the dear Merit of the Lord JESUS CHRIST alone, closing my earthly Life with these Words, sigh'd out with my dying Breath, In Me Mane, Dulcissime JESU, ut Ego in Te Maneam! Abide in me, sweetest JESUS, that I may abide in Thee!

My Corps was decently interr'd, but with no Pomp and Magnificence, having so order'd it before; and tho' I dy'd with the good Applause of all that knew my last Hours, yet soon after my Death, I was here inform'd, that the Priests of Spain had much revil'd me, and well nigh perswaded my wife Son Philip to raise up my Body from the Grave, and burn it as the Corps of an Detetick; because in my Testament I had not remember'd the Churches and Monasteries: Indeed I had little to bequeath, yet I own I thought the religious Corporations almost every where wanted less than any other Sort of Men, and had observ'd that the Protestant Countries, after sequestrating and impropriating the Ecclesiastical Revenues, had sourish'd in Trade, and became wealthy and populous, while the Romish Countries continu'd in Ignorance, Poverty, and Slavery, excepting that Spain had of late abounded in the Gold and Silver of America, tho' I forefaw that the Protestants, by having most of the Trade, must in Time have also most of the Wealth of EUROPE. However, my omitting that Legacy was Pretence enough with the Priests; tho' I have been well inform'd in Elyfium, that they did shrewdly suspect me of Heresy before I dy'd; because after I came to the Monastery I had Leisure to take a Review of II. Interview. O 2 my

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my past Life, to read much, and think on what I did read, and on the Topicks of the Protestants that came often to my Remembrance, especially that fundamental One of deriving the Christian Religion from the Bible only, as the only and compleat Rule of Faith and Life, by which all Opinions in Religion ought to be examin'd; and if contrary to it, they ought to be rejected, and have often wish'd in the Monastery to meet there with LUTHER and Eccius, and to be the Mederator of their Dispute, tho in vain.

But nothing more afflicted me in my Solitude, than the Reflections I made on my Pride, Ambition, uncontroulable and despotick Disposition, nay severe, unprecedented, and scandalous Treatment of the Captive. PRINCES, contrary to the Remonstrances of the far greater and wifer Part of Men; my Ingratitude to the Family of SAXONY; my acting blindfold in Matters of the greatest Importance, and even sometimes rebelling against my Understanding and Conscience, only to please the Clergy of ROME, who will never be pleas'd, unless one can go all their horrible Lengths, and never dispute their Advice: And especially the sad Remembrance of my having put to Death so many Thousands for Heresy without examining whether they were Fools or Knaves, Innocent or Guilty, depriv'd me often of my Nights Rest; so that I could not conceal my Regret, and have been overheard by some of the Monks, saying, That if I was again to mount the Imperial Throne, I would alt after a quite different Manner, and make as little Work for Repentance in a Monastry as possible. Nay Don Alvarez di Castro, an old Courtier at Madrid, that came into Elysium foon after me, plainly told me, that he had Reason to believe my Savings had been communicated to those who made haste to have me gone out of Time, being afraid that I should run out of the Monastry, and resume the Government at the Head of the Lutherans, which would put the Church in great Danger. This was confirm'd also by my Father-Confessor, who asfur'd me that after my Death he was put into the Juquilition, where a Process of Heresy was fram'd against him; for because he would not say as they faid, nor betray my Secrets to them, he was suspected also, and had been certainly burnt for an Heretick, if he had not dy'd in Prison: But tho' by his Death he prevented his Tryal, yet they formed his Image or Effigies, and condemn'd it to the Flames, as if he had been alive, and he was accordingly burne in Effigie for an Deretick, as Don Alvarez affur'd us both.

You know, dear FRANCIS, my whole Life was very majestick and glorious; I was courted from all Quarters not only by the ELBCTORS and other Princes of the Empire, but even by most foreign Princes and mighty Prelates, able Ministers of State and brave Generals; as appear'd by the many General Drets I held, the many Campaigns I sustain'd with powerful Armies in different Fields, and the many considerable Victories I obtain'd: Nor was my Grandeur of Spirit less discernable under my frequent Disappointments and Distresses.

In the City of GHENT, Anno 1539, when the Country-Jubilee was kept in my Presence, I had in my Retinue a vast Number of Persons of the first Rank and Condition, and some of all or most Nations to attend me, as if I had been an univerfal MONARCH, which encreas'd every Day my Pomp and Splendour; and those Foreigners were much astonish'd to behold my nineteen Companies of DEPUTIES from feveral Cities; some of them confifting each of 300 Gentlemen, all cloath'd in red Velver, adorn'd with Embroidery of Gold and Silver: And when the Question was put to them, What is the best Comfort of a dying Man? The Company of ANT-WERP contended it was the firm Hope of the Resurrection of the Body; and therefore they obtain'd the first Prize by my Decision: Next the Deputies of VINOXBERGEN got the fecond Prize for grounding that Comfort upon the Confidence which God has given us in and through his Son IESUS CHRIST. Nor did these serious Questions at all hinder the innocent Mirth, the glorious Entertainments, the gallant Shews and most agreeable Diversions of the Place, where I was never in my Life more folemnly regal'd, and every Person seem'd to be pleas'd and contended in shewing their Satisfaction and their Esteem of me.

I own I was too much intent upon the Sovereignty of the German Empire, having conceiv'd many false Images of absolute Power, of which I was ever disappointed by Divine Providence, and God rais'd up at last my Friend the Elector Mauritius of Saxony to be my Enemy, and oppose me in that Attempt, against which he had often made many grievous Complaints to me, before he took up Arms against me; I wish I had follow'd his Advice; for then my latter Days had not been so much embarrass'd, nor had I gone to the Monastery.

I made myself very formidable in I TALY, and all the Powers thereof did tremble at my Name, except the Republick of Venice, who always lighted me: But Anno 1531 I besieg'd Florence, and after some Trouble II. Interview.

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reduc'd that City, depriv'd her of her Liberty, and brought her under the Yoke of the Family of *Medicis*, who had been only Merchants formerly, but about 100 Years had usurped the Sovereignty thereof, and the Citizens having for ten Years expell'd that Family, I restor'd it, and created *Alexander* of Medicis, the first Duke of Florence.

Anno 1530, when SOLYMAN II. Emperor of the Turks, took in the Island of Rhodes, and banish'd thence the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, I gave them the Island of Maltha, where they settled and have bravely kept Possession of it until now; because they were suffering Christians, a most noble Order, and Gentlemen well skill'd in the Liberal Sciences and Arts, particularly in Geometry and Architecture; but I hear they have been oblig'd for many Years past to turn their Heads mostly to Navigation and War, tho' they still sacredly observe their ancient Charges and Regulations under their GRAND MASTER, the same Title with the PROVOST of the most ancient Fraternity of Free Masons, who have also the same Guardian St. JOHN.

I augmented the Spanish Monarchy with the Accession of all the 17 Provinces of the Petherlands, with Franche Comté, and the Dutchy of MILAN, only the last I appointed to be a Fief of the Empire.

And perhaps my Actions and Deeds had been more renown'd, had not my Ministers, Generals, and Armies always consisted of different Nations, who, because of their different Ways of Thinking and their contrary Inclinations and Tempers, prov'd often an Hindrance to one another, and to me, both in deliberating about a Project and in executing it.

During my Reign, I have been twice in Africa, twice in England, four Times in France, and travell'd thro' it, six Times in Spain, seven Times in Italy, nine Times in Germany, ten Times in the Netherlands, and eleven Times at Sea; so that no Prince ever endur'd more Fatigues, my whole Life being very restless, and my Time pass'd as I could not tell how.

As for my Constitution of Body, I was somewhat sickly and infirm, being also often afflicted much with the Stone and Gout; and to be sure if my Spirit had not been more fortify'd than my Body, I could never have undergone the many Toils of Life and Government.

My Bodily Constitution, and the many perplexing Affairs of State and Church, and War, that lay heavy on me, kept me from Excesses in Love II. Interview.

and effeminate Gallantry, in which I was generally abstemious and referv'd: vet 'tis known among the Mortals that once at Augsburg, Anno 1545. I faw a very handsome Lady, BARBARA of Blumenberg, who by her Beauty, Wit, and angelical Voice captivated my Heart; and she not only oblig'd me with her Musick, but with her private Conversation also, whereby she conceiv'd, and in due Time bore privately to me a Son, whom I called John, and whom I fent to Spain to have him privately educated: I discover'd him to my Son King PHILIP but a little before my Death, when the Boy was about ten Year old: Philip call'd him Don John of Austria, and much affecting him took special Care to educate him in the liberal Sciences, and in all Knightly Exercises. I have heard he became a great Heroe, and a mighty Admiral, and dy'd the Sea red with the Blood of the Turks. I had also another very handsome Mistress of the Family of Womgeustein, born at Audenard in Flanders, who bore to me a Daughter that afterwards became Dutchess of PARMA, and under my Son Philip she presided for a Time as Governess of the Netherlands.

I shall trouble you no more, but to tell you that the Ship which carried me to Spain, was in returning, cast away; and so was I too, when lodg'd once in the Cloyster of St. Justus, not finding there the Repose and Tranquillity I expected, but soon found it attended with Pleasures divine in this happy Elysium, and the blessed Regions of the DEAD.

#### FRANCIS.

Your History, my most worthy Friend, has charm'd my Ear, and well deserv'd my Attention: But pray, dear CHARLES, tell me whether you was not the first Emperor that came under an Elective Capitulation, and whether you could not have avoided that Stroke?

## CHARLES.

Tis true it was a Thing unknown, at least not practis'd before my Time, but I durst not resuse to permit it and accept of it; after the ELECTORS had once a Fancy for it; otherwise they had never chose me Emperor; whereas the wise Duke of Saxony, whom they did chuse, was moved by my Condescension to drop his Election, and prevailed with the others to chuse me.

# FRANCIS.

Did you not repent of that false Step in Policy, viz. Your not preserving all your Dominions together under one Severeign, but dividing them, II. Interview:

and bestowing one Parcel on your Brother FERDINAND with the Imperial Dignity, and bequeathing the rest to your Son PHILIP?

# CHARLES.

No doubt I repented of it; but, as I have told you, I thought it good Policy, Anno 1521, to bestow on my Brother the Austrian Dominions, tho', during my Reign, I had the Sovereignty of it in some fort. But the Reason why I took Pains, Anno 1531, to get my said Brother FERDINAND elected King of the ROMANS, (tho' I could hardly pacify the Elector of Saxony JOHN CONSTANS, that vehemently protested against it) was, the Ambition I had to preferve the Imperial Crown in my Family; for my Son Philip was then only four Years old, and besides very weak and fickly: But when he grew up, I recommended him to the ELECTORS, Anno 1550, with great Earnestness, and made him take the Tour thro' Germany into Flanders, that he might shew the Germans his grave and solemn Person, and would fain have perswaded the Electors to chuse him the second King of the ROMANS; but he came too late, and they would not hear of it. And certainly this was the fecret Decree of Heaven, to which we ought to submit in every Thing, and which we can only know by the Event.

# I C S D D A FRANCIS MANA V GAR side missing

Well, but I was told you permitted your Son Philip's Nativity to be cast, and was also cheated in it, which, I think, was a prying too much into the Decrees of Heaven. Pray, Sir, tell me also why you contended so long with the Protestants, and no sooner made Peace with them at any Time than immediately you drew the Sword against them; so that they could hardly trust you at last.

# CHARLES.

The Casting of my Son's Matinity, I own was ridiculous, and I was always asham'd of it, and too long gave Ear to Astrologers that were mere Pretenders, and knew as little as my self. As for my long Controversies with the Protestants, I was made to hope that I should divide them, break them, tire them out, and totally overcome them in Time; of which I was hugely mistaken, as appear'd by the Event: But, as I told you before, I lov'd to fish in troubled Waters, tho' I repented of it in the Monastry, when I had Time to reslect, and understood how happy I had been, if I had acted more honourably with the Protestants.

II. Interview.

FRANCIS.

## FRANCIS.

Pray, Sir, was it true, that on the Day of the Battel of Muhlberg the Sun stood still, or did longer shine than usual, to favour your Victory over the Hereticks, as was considently reported?

#### CHARLES.

The Duke of Alba did long ago answer this Question when propos'd to him at Paris, saying, He had so much to do that Day upon Earth, that he had no Leisure to look up to Heaven. I could give you the same Answer, but in Elysium we must speak plain Truth; and I wonder much you should enquire after such poor silly Stories, invented by Priests, and believ'd by Fools.

#### FRANCIS.

Yet I hope you'll allow me to ask, if it be true that you stopt the Pope's Courier with his Holines's final Consent and Dispensation for the Divorce of Henry VIII. King of England, and his Queen Katharine, Anno 1533, which, if it had arriv'd, Henry and the Pope had not broke; whereas its not arriving, irritated Henry to divorce himself by his Convocation and Parliament.

#### CHARLES.

You was Henry's Friend at that Time, and advis'd him to a second Marriage; but I was influenced purely from an Aversion to Pope Clement VII. and was glad of any Opportunity to distress him. Indeed I much fear'd his Complyance with Henry's Demand, being mighty desirous to see them at Variance, and my Plot wrought like a Charm; for Henry was a Man of Learning, and an enterprizing Genius, very impatient of Controul, and of keen Resentments, so that the Pope could not regain him; nay, he affected afterwards a sort of Papal Jurisdiction in Matters Ecclesiastical, which the Kings of England are still possess'd of, wearing Henry's Triple Crown that he wrested from Pope Clement.

# FRANCIS.

But why was you so much the Enemy of Pope CLEMENT VII?

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# CHARLES.

You know his Conduct never pleas'd me, and I was forced to humble his Arrogance, and to chastise him severely for his hypocritical and po-II. Interview.

litical Tricks: Besides, he was a vile Fellow, and even on his Death-bed declar'd with a Sneer, that he was at last certain of three Things, which he had doubted of all his Days, viz. The Being of God, the Immortality of the Soul, and the future State after Death. Nor was I better pleas'd with his Successor PAUL III. for he confirm'd the Order of Jesuits, who have prov'd a Pack of Knaves dangerous to every State, and pernicious to pure Christianity: He also acted the Part of a Knave in calling the General Council at Trent, which was far from being GENERAL, and in over-ruling every Thing there by his Legates to hinder a Reformation while he liv'd; nay, he hired 400 Wretches to attempt fetting Fire to the Lutheran Towns, and poisoning their Waters: You also know how violently he opposed my Interim, fearing I was going about to imitate HENRY of England, to shake off the Papal Supremacy, and to become the HEAD of the Church my self in all my Dominions: Indeed I wish I had done so; for tho' while on the Throne I thought the POPE's Authority was necessary for the Peace and Unity of the Church, I came in the Monastry to understand that it was pernicious, and the great Hindrance of Reformation, and that the POPE would be more useful to the Church, if every Prince had follow'd Henry's Example, and had join'd to reduce his Holiness to be only an Umpire of Debates among Christians: But honest LUTHER was for throwing off the Yoke all at once, which I'm now convinc'd was the best as well as the shortest Way with the Pope and his Court.

#### FRANCIS.

Ways brib'd my Ministers and Generals, whereby they betray'd into your Hands all my Projects, Consultations, and Actions?

# CHARLES.

I cannot deny it; for your Ministers have cost me many hundred Thoufand Pistoles, the their Correspondence with me did not deserve it, for want of Accuracy.

And now, my beloved FRANCIS, I hope you'll not delay to relate your Story next with as much Freedom as I have used in my Relation.

#### FRANCIS.

With all my Heart: Your History has contain'd many important Passages of my Life, which renders my Rehearsal the shorter.

II. Interview.

I was born Count of ENGOULESME, Anno 1494, and under that Name was educated. In my early Days I discover'd a great Love for Learning, and an Ambition to excell in it; and most People concluded from all my Deportment, that I was decreed for Crowns and Scepters. There were three young Lords brought up my Con-disciples and Comrades, the one of Montmorancy, the other of Montchenu, and the third of Chabot; and these I ask'd in Jest one Day, What great Offices they would shuse when I should be King? Whereupon Montmorancy immediately, in Jest too, put in to be the Lord High Constable of France, Montchenu chose the Office of Great Stable Master, and Chabot that of the High Admiral: I and they were only then Children jokosely amusing our selves, yet all this exactly happen'd like the Accomplishment of a Prophecy, and they serv'd me in those several exalted Stations, tho' I came to be offended with them all three, and turn'd them out of their Offices and of my Favour at last.

When, Anno 1515, LEWIS XII. King of France died without Heirs, I being the nearest in Blood-Royal alive, or his nearest Kinsman, did succeed in the Trone, and, according to ancient Custom, was anointed with OIL, and crown'd at Rheims; which Oil, the common People believe, was brought from Heaven by an Angel at the Baptism of the Great CLODOVEUS the first Christian King of France, about 1970 Years before my Coronation; so that I doubt not it has been often supply'd by such as invented and propagated the Lie.

Being now about 21 Years old, I entertain'd Thoughts of Marrying, and foon chose for my Queen Anna Britannica the Daughter of my Predecessor Lewis XII. who by her Mother was the Heiress of Bretaign; which was a very convenient Match, for I thereby obtain'd the Sovereignty of that large, fruitful, and commodious Province, as it would have much gall'd me to see another Prince in Possession of it: Therefore all the World approved my Choice, and I began and set out in the Administration with a glorious Character.

Having obtain'd one Bride, I was next wholly bent on obtaining another, which cost me hard and (in the End) fruitless Labour, I mean the Dutchy of MILAN, which Duke Maximilian SFORTIA had reposses'd for about three Years; and I thought fit to pursue the Pretensions of my Predecessor to that Country.

II. Interview.

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For this End, I soon raised a strong Army, which, Anno 1515, the very Year of my Coronation, I led thither in Person; and when the Swissers, to shew their Power, appear'd in the Field with an Army as strong as mine, to stop my Carreer, and protect Milan, we came to an horrible and obstinate Engagement that lasted three successive Days, 'till I beat them out of the Field, and they were forced to leave the Ground, and to yield me the Victory, with the Loss of more than 10000 Men. But the Consequence of it was better still; for soon after this Victory the Duke Maximilian was so dishearten'd, that he, poor Man, gave up to me the whole Dutchy, requesting no more annual Income than 36000 Crowns, and undertook to spend the Remainder of his Life in France. Thus I got Possession of the City and Dutchy of Milan, and kept quiet Possession for six whole Years running.

Anno 1516, Pope LEO X. and I had an Interview at BONONIA, where his Holiness would give me a Caress, and therefore crown'd me the EASTERN EMPEROR; but the worst of this Case was, that tho' I had the Title, the TURKS were possess'd of the Territories, and were such Insidels as not to regard, but to laugh at the Pope's Grant to me, and the Ceremonial of my Coronation. But I look'd upon it as a real Honour done me, and what might facilitate my Election to be the Western Emperor, if Maximilian I. should die before me, which he did in two Years: And therefore I was so simple and kind-hearted as to abolish the Sanctio Pragmatica in Gratitude to the Pope, and to enter into a Contract with him, by Virtue of which I obtain'd the Privilege of Naming the Bishops and Abbots in France to Vacancies; and he got the Annates, or the first Years Revenue of every such vacant Bishoprick or Abby.

Afterwards I subdued other Places in Italy, and became thereby so formidable, that the Swiffers thought it their Interest to enter into Alliance with me, whereby they were to surnish me what Troops I wanted for good and ready Pay.

But when Anno 1519, you was preferred before me in the Election of a Roman Emperor, an Odium inextinguishable arose betwixt us, which lasted to our last Days: For I lost great Sums of Money in making Interest with the Electors, and I had set my Heart upon the universal Monarchy, which nothing could hinder me from, if I had been made Emperor; II. Interview.

whereas after you was chosen I was intent upon curbing your Ambition, preventing your Design of the universal Monarchy, securing France on all Quarters; and particularly on the Side of Italy, my Heart was set upon my dear MILAN, which if I had obtain'd, I could have easily managed the Pope and the Italian Princes, who would all of 'em rather be under my Influence than under your Domination.

Therefore I began to act contrary to you in every Thing, judging it my Interest to oppose what you was for, and to be for that which you oppos'd; because while we both design'd the same Thing, like two Lovers courting the same Mistress, we must be Opposites, seek Grounds of Quarrel, and neglect no Opportunity of vexing each other.

Thus I began Anno 1520, with restoring the King of Navarre John Albretan, in which I sail'd, and was forced to retire as you have related: Next Year, 1521, the Fire of War broke out in Italy, whither I sent my samous General Lautree with many fine Troops; but Aloysia my Mother (who was his Enemy, because I carried on some samiliar Love-Intrigues with his Sister) permitted, if not directed, the Money to be intercepted and carry'd off, which was sent for supporting my Army, whereby I soon lost the Swissers in my Service, my very best Troops, who mutineed, and ran Home according to their Motto, Point d'Argent, Point de Swisse; No more Money, no more Swisse: The rest of my Army were miserably deseated in the Battel of Bicoque near Milan, as in your History; and so you wrested that whole Dutchy from me.

I had a few Years ago reduced the Republick of Genoa to acknow-ledge me for her Sovereign; but now upon my Army's total Rout at Milan, the Genoese recover'd their Spirits, threw off my Yoke, and came soon under your Protection, which to me was a very afflicting Blow.

I made very strict Enquiry about the Intercepting of the said Money; but because my Mother deny'd all, and because the Secretary of the Treafurer Semblança y had stole from his Principal the Acquittances he had received for the said Money that was truly sent forward according to Order; the whole Fault was laid upon the said Treasurer, for which he was hang'd in the Gallows: This Treasurer I was wont to call Father for his great Age and Wisdom; which prompted People to say in Jeer King Francis hang'd his Father. But I was soon much troubled in Mind for the Death of this venerable and sagacious Lord, who was II. Interview.

secretary were guilty, and deferv'd Hanging both for imposing upon me: Alas! Great Men are too soon imposed on, whereby they do Things in haste, of which they repent at Leisure.

My Mother was the Occasion of another Disaster more terrible and hurtful than the former; for the fell in Love with my Coufin CHARLES Dake of Bourbon, who, being a blooming young Man, could not return Love for Love, because she was a little pass'd forty Years old: This his Coldness was in her Eyes an unpardonable Slight, and soon turn'd her Love into deadly Hate, which mov'd her to contrive all possible Ways and Means, by the Affiftance of General BONNIVET, for vexing the Duke's Heart, and venting her Revenge; particularly she form'd a Pretention on the Dutchy of BOURBON, and well knew how to profecute it by her Authority, Craft, and Influence, so that most People said the Duke would come off but poorly, and he began himself to despair of Therefore the Duke, being very ambitious and revengeful, quickly apply'd to you and HENRY VIII. of England, offering you a Project whereby you might both at the same Time penetrate into France, and foon be able to divide my Kingdom between you, only giving him out of it the little Kingdom of ARLES: But this Treaty and Conspiracy was in good Time (or early) berray'd; which the Duke being afraid of, made haste to exile himself from France, and went under your Protection and Refuge. I own you acted politickly in Conferring on BOURBON the Command of your Army in Italy; for it was not to be fear'd that I should decoy him back to France, or that he would return 'till my Mother was dead; besides, his Ambition and implacable Revenge gave him no Rest, but made him ever thoughtful how to distress me, untill at last his raging mad Soul expir'd in the Storming of Rome.

However, he prevail'd to get You, the King of England, and the Pope to join in Alliance against me; notwithstanding which, I sent, Anno 1523, my General and great Favourite Bonnivet with 50000 Men into the Milanese: But by his ill Conduct, his wild Conduct, was this gallant Army beaten by your People, and almost ruin'd: Whereupon, you sent Bourbon Anno 1524, with an Army into Provence, who besieged Marseilles; but he could not take it, and was forc'd to retire in haste with Shame and great Loss, for all his Boldness.

I should have indeed blown up and degraded Bonnivet upon his Return to my Court; but I was blinded and infatuated also in continuing him as my Darling Favourite: He was Courtier enough to behave himself handfomely towards my Mother, whom he entirely rul'd, as she rul'd me and the whole Kingdom; yet I could then see his Counsels and Actions to be all violent and precipitant, nor would any one believe what bold Attempts he has advised and made: And once he had the Impudence and Folly to make an Attempt on the Virtue of my Sister MARGARET, and even to offer at ravishing her; but he came off with the Loss, could not reach his base End, and she so scratch'd his Face, that he could not appear for a Month.

This evil Counsellor Bonnivet perswaded me, Anno 1525, to lead in Person an Army into the Milanese, even in Winter-time; by which Project, no doubt, he thought, that if it should well succeed, his former Faults would be forgot; and that if it should ill succeed, People might say the King himself was not capable of better Conduct. Nay, tho' many wise Counsellors and Military Men endeavour'd to dissuade me from this Expedition, Bonnivet's Opinion prevail'd with me, and I gave the others this careless Answer, That whoever was willing to freeze for want of Business, might stay at Home! Which Reply stirr'd up many to go along with me upon the Point of Honour, even the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry of France, and I march'd a most gallant Army well appointed into the Milanese.

When I came thither, Fortune seem'd again to smile upon me at first; and I laid close Siege to Pavia and its Fort; but again she prov'd a Jilt, an inconstant Heathen Goddess, and soon were all her bright Smiles overcast and eclips'd by a black and terrible Cloud: For,

Bourbon your General gather'd in haste as many of your Troops as were sufficient to raise the Siege; and when I rang'd my Men in Order of Battel, I sound they came not up to the Numbers on the List, by Reason especially of Desertion; which Bourbon knew well enough, and also attack'd me suddenly with great Madness and Fury, soon broke my thin Battalions and Squadrons, and gain'd a compleat Victory. I lost 8000 Men kill'd on the spot, some Thousands were taken Prisoners, and my self too, with all the Artillery and the Baggage, which was a very considerable Booty for your Army. Helas! my dearest Charles, I'm not capable to describe the Rage and Despair that seiz'd me, often resolving II. Interview.

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Bounivet did; but at length confidering the Value of Life, which can be lost but once, I resolved to save it by Flight, tho' it was too late; for the Spaniards pursued me hard, and stopt my Flight; and defending my self with my Sword for some Time, they had certainly cut me to Pieces if I had not at length cry'd out, Hold, Gentlemen, I am the King: Upon which they immediately fell upon me all together with Noise and Violence, not to do me hurt, but contending to have the Honour of taking me Prisoner; they tore and cut my Sword-Belt into more than 100 Pieces, that each might have a Trophy to plead the Merit of it: And in the Bustle came up the Duke of Bourbon, to whom I scorn'd to surrender at any Rate, bid him go about his Business with Indignation, and call'd aloud for your General Lanoy to accept of that Honour, which he did very thankfully.

Soon after the Battel, I was carried towards the Sea-Coast, in Order to take Shipping for Spain; and on my Journey, not far from Pavia, I lighted at a Carthusian Cloyster, where the Monks happen'd by chance to fing at Vespers the 119th Psalm, and as they came to the 71st Verse, I feriously apply'd it to my self, and with a loud Voice rehears'd it, saying, Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me; ut discam Justificationes tuas: It is good for me that thou hast humbled me; that I may learn thy Statutes, or Judgments; which was very suitable to my Circumstances, and much asserted the Auditory.

When we landed at Alicant, there was an Uproar and Mutinee among the Soldiers who rebell'd against General Lanoy, and fir'd at him, so that he was forced to retire from them untill their Fury was abated: In which Confusion I should have escaped, if it had continued a little longer.

At last I was brought to MADRID, but not allow'd the Privilege of being brought into your Presence; and for 13 Months was kept a close Prisoner in a very narrow Place, where I was hardly entertain'd; and it was the more grievous, that I was a sanguin Person, and had been us'd every Day to invent new Pleasures, new Recreations, and ever conceiv'd a mortal Hatred against Solitariness and a confined Will; I was therefore often out of Order, and even downright sick-

Once walking up and down in the Place of my Prison, I espy'd your Motto Plus ultra on the Wall; under which I wrote Hodie mihi, Cras tibi; II. Interview.

To Day 'tis my Misfortune, to Morrow it may be yours; and when you heard of it, you order'd to be written under it, Homo sum, humani a me nihil alienum puto; I am a Mortal, and subject to every human Accident.

At the End of 15 Months I obtain'd my Liberty upon the Conditions you have mention'd, tho' I laugh'd in my Sleeve at your Simplicity in not demanding the Performance before I left *Madrid*, but trusting to my *Parrole*, and detaining my poor innocent *Children* as Hostages; and I own what you say is true about my Non-performance, and sending you a Challenge to fight me, &c. therefore it was impossible our Weapons could be long idle, and we came again to Blows *Anno* 1527.

Pope CLEMENT VII. and also HENRY King of England, being now jealous of your growing Grandeur, enter'd into Alliance with me, whereby I thought my self enabled once more to try my Fortune in Italy: And while your Army was deeply engag'd in taking Rome, and distressing the Pope, I again reduc'd Genoa under my Sovereignty, sent Lautrec with a great Army into the Milanese, who besieged and took Pavia with several other Places, and penetrated even to Naples, in Order to snatch that Kingdom from you; but you have already accounted for that Expedition, the Loss of which you impute to Lautrec's Ignorance; tho' he was by many suspected to have been your Pensioner, and to have kept secret Intelligence with you, which I was almost convinced of; and if the Plague had not sent him into the Regions of the Dead, he had been try'd for it, and had poorly come off.

This Disaster dispos'd the Genoese to revolt from me, and from that Time it remains a free Republick to this Day. But soon after this we concluded a Peace at Cambray upon the Terms you have related: And being a Widower, I married your Sister Eleanora, Anno 1530, at Paris with great Solemnity, and paid you 20 Tuns of Gold for the Ransom of my two Sons, which were two of the Terms of Peace; and any one would have thought that all our Hostilities were now at an End: But far f.om it; for

I could not forget my beloved MILAN, it was perpetually in my Head, and engraven upon my Heart; which made me ever thoughtful and deliberate how I might become the Master and Sovereign of it again: Therefore, Anno 1535, I rush'd thro' Savoy, drove that Duke out of his Country, and invaded Milan once more, as you have observ'd; where II. Interview.

we fought with equal Advantage, and Fortune smil'd on us both, as if pleas'd to see us drive one another about, and mutually give hard Blows too.

Upon this, you made a Diversion by Invading Provence again, and Besieging Marseilles; but to your great Loss, as you have own'd: But your Army in the Netherlands became sormidable by Numbers, Bravery, and Success, when I sell upon that soolish Expedient of an Alliance with Soliman, which brought me no Advantage, and entail'd upon me a perpetual Reproach, that is now upon Record in the Histories of the Living; and had I known of the ill Success of your Expedition into Provence, I had never sought that scandalous Alliance.

But after we had pull'd each other about by the Hair for three Years, at last, Anno 1538, by the Mediation of Pope PAUL III. we concluded the ten Years Truce at Nice, where we and the Pope had a friendly Interview; and soon after at Aigues Mortes we met together again with great Civility and Pleasure; which prompted you to venture thro' France Anno 1539, as you have narrated. I own I design'd to arrest you 'till you should give me Milan, and Satisfaction for other Things; but you brib'd all my Counsellors, for none of 'em would advise it, and you plough'd with my Heiser, my charming Mistress Estampes, and by her vast Instuence with me you escaped; tho' afterwards I was angry, especially at my own Simplicity in relying upon your ambiguous Answer about Milan; and resolved to break with you as soon as a sit Opportunity offer'd it self.

This happen'd Anno 1542, upon the great Hurricane that destroy'd your Fleet at Algiers, and my Ground of Quarrel was good; for having sent two Ambassadors to Venice, who were afterwards to proceed to Constantinople, your Governor of Milan intercepted them at the Po, on their Journey, and commanded them to be massacred; tho' the Spaniards constantly deny'd it, being asham'd of it as an inhuman Deed, and contrary to the Law of Nations, especially in Time of Peace.

And being well prepared, I broke loose on all Sides with Violence, invaded Navarre, and took that Kingdom from you; rush'd into Lorrain, wasted Luxemburg, and penetrated into Italy, where I soundly beat your Troops at Cerissolles, tho' the Governor of Milan, Don Gaston, before the Battel, at a Ball had already shewn to the Ladies the Chains be had prepared for the French, of which he might be much asham'd.

11. Interview.

In the mean Time, I was forced shamefully to retire from the Siege of Perpignan, and became afraid of your Alliance with Henry of England; but my Fear was soon blown over, when I found Henry was not in earnest to ruin me, and only design'd to divert himself with some inconsiderable Undertakings, until the Time of Great Action was over. And so after two Years War and Enmity, we concluded our last Peace at Crespy on Valsis, Anno 1544, as you have related.

And now I enjoy'd all worldly Glory and Royal Delights, without the Noise of War and Bloodshed, in profound Peace: But this happiest Time was very short, only two Years and about six Months; for Anno 1547, at Rembouillet was I seiz'd with a violent Sickness which finish'd my Days: And thus after I had reign'd 32 Years, I went the Way of all Flesh, and arriv'd in the Realms of Death at 53 Years of Age.

I left my Crown and Kingdom to my Son HENRY II. and I soon heard from those that follow'd me into Elysium, that my Corps was brought to St. DENIS near Paris, with great Pomp and Ceremony; for 24 Monks, with lighted Wax-Candles, walk'd by the mourning Coach or Hearse, more than 500 poor People dress'd in Mourning, with lighted Wax-Candles, march'd before the Hearse, and eleven Cardinals, with a great Number of Bishops and Prelates, and Persons of Quality without Number, follow'd after it.

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When thus arriv'd at St. Denis, where are the Royal Sepulchres of the Kings of France for many hundred Years, they dress'd my Corps upon a Parade-Bed in Royal Robes, with many Jewels, to lye in State and to be view'd for some Days, with the Crown, the Scepter, and the other Ensigns Royal set by the Corps on Shelves, and every Day they set before me a splendid Table with Dinner and Supper, and with as much grave Decorum and Ceremony as if I was still alive: But the worst of it was, I had a very indifferent Appetite, and so sullen, that I would neither speak, ear, nor drink; so that their nice Viands were always decently removed untouch'd.

When this foolish Ceremony was over, they agreed upon the Manner of my Burial, pull'd off my Royal Garments and Jewels, and put on me a Dead Gown, and 48 Monks stood round me, every eight Hours relieving one another by Turns, and without resting a quarter of an Hour, under II. Interview.

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the Light of many hundred Wax-Candles and fine Lamps, they sung and pray'd for three successive Days and Nights: Also before the Corps were two Altars erected, upon which, from three a Clock in the Morning 'till twelve at Noon, Mass was continually said.

At last the Hour came for burying my Corps, and it was done with no small Pomp and Grandeur, attended with the Corpses of my two Sons Francis and Charles, (the one dead about eleven Years before, and the other two Years) that had been left in the Church of St. Denis, and we were all three entomb'd together.

My Funeral Sermon was preach'd by my Friend the Bishop of Mascon, who, among other Things, affirmed, that my Soul never touch'd at Purgatory, but directly ascended into Heaven: This occasion'd an Uproar among the Divines; for the Doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris call'd it false Doctrine, and would have the Bishop to revoke it, as what could not be bore with. But at length the Parliament took upon them to decide that Controversy, and order'd the Divines to be satisfy'd in it, affirming by a Vote of the House, Nemine contradicente, that Seeing our late King Francis while alive, could never stay long in one Place, especially on a March, if he at all touched at Durgatory, it could only be en passant, and could not have stay'd long there, but soon bave gone to the happy Regions of the Dead. I own I could not forbear smiling, when I heard that thus the litigious Debates of the Clergy were easily finish'd by a Vote of Parliament.

No Prince in my Time did more encourage Learning, or more highly esteem'd the Learned than I did; they never wanted a good Pension-according to Merit, and I allow'd 'em often to eat with me at my Table, and to converse with me like Peers, judging it my Honour to be thought one of the Gens literaria & erudita, a Man of Letters; tho' they call'd me Pater Literarum, the Father of Learning; because my Countenance and Encouragement to the Learned made Thousands busily to endeavour excelling each other in the Languages, Arts, and Sciences. Also I took Care to fend for many Oriental Books, which I purchas'd at any Rate, in Order to have the Europeans well skill'd in all the African and Afiatick Learning. Nor was I less careful in decoying the curious Artists and Scholars of other Nations to fettle in France, where they had better Encouragement than at Home; one of whom I cannot forget to mention, Leonardo da VINCI, a famous Virtuoso in Painting, Poetry, Musick, and Mechanicks, who lov'd me, I believe, with all his Heart, as he was fensible that I II. Interview. allo

also lov'd him; and when he was dying, I visited him in a friendly Manner, which Piece of Respect I thought was due to his Merit: But the ingenious, generous Soul, preparing to receive me by sitting up in Bed, and being overcome with the Joy and the Honour of my Visit, as well as exhausted by Sickness, expired in my Arms with rapturous Expressions of his Gratitude.

As for my Religion, I died in the Communion of the Church of ROME. as I was born and bred in it, tho' I could fee a great many gross Errors that crept in among the Clergy by Length of Time, by Wealth and Grandeur, and by neglecting the primitive Simplicity and Discipline. Nor was I ever able to answer the Hereticks Argument for making the Holy Scripture the only total and adequate Rule of Faith and Life, which is the first Principle of the Hereticks, and while they keep to it, they can never be brought back to Rome. But I could not relish the Doctrine of LUTHER, nor of CALVIN, whose Adherents I especially persecuted and oppress'd; because they swarm'd in France, and were like to infect my whole Kingdom; which was to me frightful, because I thought that then my Subjects could not any longer be kept in Awe, when the proper Instruments were once laid afide and abolish'd, Auricular Confession, and Sharp Penance. In the mean Time, I corresponded with your Hereticks, both Lutherans and Calvinists, on purpose to influence them to rise up in Arms against you, encourag'd them all I could, and always gave them Hopes that, in Case of Necessity, I would assist them with a good Army: For I was ever dispos'd to join with Turks, or Hereticks, or any People against you.

In France the Doctrine of Zwinglius, or something like it, began to be preach'd, Anno 1523, at Grenoble in Dauphinee by Peter Sebeville, and at Milda by James Faber, the noble William Farell, Arnold and Gerard Rush, which Preachers were sent for to Paris by Bishop William Brissonet: And tho' the Bishop recanted and dismiss'd these new Doctors, yet they dispers'd themselves thro' France, and gather'd many great Assemblies of their Proselytes, which, at the Desire of the Pope and his Clergy, I would now and then distress, and impower the Bishops to persecute them; as at other Times, upon the private Remonstrances of the Protestant Princes of Germany, I would be more merciful, and wink at them: But it was all one as to their Growth; for they increas'd under all Circumstances, and many ingenious and learned Men arose among em, and join'd themselves to 'em, particularly the said samous John Calvin, II. Interview.

who was as much honour'd by the French Hereticks as LUTHER was by those of Germany, even in my Time: Nor can I disown the secret Respect I had for that curious Civilian and Divine both, who also excell'd all the World in the Politeness of the Roman Language, in which he wrote his most learned and judicious Book, the Institutions of the Christian Religion, and dedicated it to me Anno 1536, and was the same Year chosen Preacher of Geneva, and Professor of Divinity, where, with the Assistance of William Farell and Peter Viret, he establish'd the Reformed Church.

In Love-Intrigues I committed great Excess, having been insatiable of the Pleasures of Women; and therefore often chang'd my Cloaths, and put on the Disguise or Masquerade, on purpose to converse with even mean and contemptible Women, and also with vulgar Men, by which Tricks very often I sell into many Perils and Dangers. But all the World knows I was first engaged in a Love-Intrigue with my Predecesser's Queen, the young, handsome, and charming Maria of England; afterwards I was attach'd very much to Francisca of Chateau Briant, to Anna of Estampes, and to Diana of Poictiers: I secretly convers'd with a vast Number of sine Women, who also lov'd my Conversation, and were never us'd to be coy; but these I have mention'd, were my chief Darlings whom I doated on, and could deny them nothing, as you happily sound when at Paris.

Once a Parcel of Comedians address'd me, pretending to divert me much with a very fine Representation; and I bid them go in to the Table-Room and perform their Play: Indeed they got ready all their Trinkums and Costers, but withdrew themselves from the Room secretly and suddenly: Upon which, I had the Humour of examining their said Chests they had lest behind them, and there found, I. An Image of my self sitting on a Table surrounded with sine Ladies in lascivious Habit. 2. Another Image of my self, with a Christ ty'd to a Piliar, whom I was smartly whipping with Rods. 3. I was drawn on Horseback, driving over the Necks of my Subjects with full Carreer. Whereby I perceived that some private and considerable Friends of mine had put themselves to that Charge, in Order the more handsomely to rebuke me for my excessive Love to the Fair Sex, my Persecuting of the Hereticks, and the vast many Contributions and Taxes wherewith I oppress'd my Subjects.

II. Interview.

You see, Sir, by my History, I was not indolent and unactive, have been in Spain to my Sorrow, several Times in Italy, Lorrain, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands, and once in England, Anno 1520, to prevent Henry's Alliance with you; for then I was too weak to oppose you: But I must own if Henry of England had pleas'd, he might have at any Time forced both you and me to Terms of his Proposing, as Umpire and Arbitrator; but he was not sollicitous about that, and was sometimes your Friend, and sometimes mine, tho' never hearty for either.

In all the various Vicissitudes of my Life, I was lively and brisk in my Temper, and of a fresh Countenance, 'till towards my End, when I was seiz'd with a terrible Melancholly and Sadness, that by Degrees had crept upon me; and being much concern'd about it, I often thought on Ways and Means to expell it, tho' in vain; for my last Sickness came on, which proved the Cure of all Distempers and Troubles, by carrying me off the Stage of the Earth into these happy Regions, where we have no Cause to envy the miserable Doztals.

#### CHARLES.

You have much obliged me by your agreeable Story, my dearest Francis, yet would I be satisfy'd of a sew Things; as first, pray let me ask, What Weakness possess'd you to challenge me to a Duel?

#### FRANCIS.

Because I knew well you could not appear, and I was dispos'd to use any Means for eclipsing or darkening your elevated Splendor; and you know that all People have not the Sense to judge of the Honour of it, and might therefore suppose me to be a braver Man than you. Besides, if you had accepted of my Challenge, and had appear'd in the Field, I had certainly not appear'd, and had pretended that the Parliament would not consent to it, which was my general Excuse.

### CHARLES.

This I knew well; and therefore I only laugh'd at your Challenge, without fending you any Answer I would next be satisfy'd with a faithful Account of the Right and Power which the Kings of France pretend to have in Curing the King's Evil, or the Crop, as we call it.

II. Interview.

FRANCIS.

#### FRANCIS.

The Monkish Legend affirms, that CLODV EUS, the first Christian King of France, (about Anno Dom. 496,) received that Virtue and Power in his Baptism, and that immediately after the Act of Baptism was over. he exerted this Power in Curing the first Ctop or Disease, which we call the King's Evil, because none but the King can cure it. This is perform'd by the Kings of France especially every Green-Thursday, when a great Number of such diseased People come from all Parts to be cured by the King's Touch: The Disease is call'd Maladie la Grouelle, or Crop in High-Dutch; but no fuch Croppy People are admitted to be touch'd as those in Tyrol and Steyer-Marck, and only such as have a certain Swelling on their Necks: And these are prudently committed to the Inspection of the Physicians, who must make Report whether they are curable or not; for the Incurable are not touched, but the Curable are brought before the King, who stroaks with his Hands the Temples, Cheeks, Necks and Chins of the diseased, saying, Le Roy te touche, Dieu te guerit; or, The King touches thee, God heals thee: And after the King has presented them with some Gold and Silver Medals or Coins, and also with some Cloth to make them a Coat or upper Garment, which they must wear out, they are deliver'd again into the Care of the Physicians and Chirurgeons; upon which, many of 'em grow perfectly well, especially if they have a strong Imagination and Hope of Relief: And the others are by those little Presents made as easy as if they had been cured, being also ready to lay the Blame of their not being cured upon themselves. The Kings of England have also usurped this Practice, and it succeeds as well there as in France, and so it would succeed equally round the Globe; for there is nothing in it, and I always laugh'd at it, but must perform it, in Order to conciliate the Love and Esteem of the Populace, who believe all forts of Miracles, and every Thing that is boldly afferted by the Clergy, who performing the Miracle of the Mass every Day, will generoully allow the King sometimes to work a Miracle too.

# CHARLES.

Pray, Sir, oblige me further by accounting for your Salick Laws.

# FRANCIS.

They are properly the old and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, according to which all Affairs of State and Government are directed, the II. Interview.

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most noted of which is, that about the Male Heirs to the Crown of France, excluding all Female Heirs; for no Woman can ever be the Sovereign of France, nor convey any Pretension to her Husband or Son. Indeed the English in the Reign of Philip VI. disputed this Point, and charged him with inventing and forging this Law in Prejudice of a Prince born by ISABELLA (full Sister of Charles VI.) to their King EDWARD II. from which Dispute a very bloody War did spring that lasted above 100 Years. But they were mistaken; for the Origin of this Law is very old, and France has ever maintain'd it without a Breach, and has still the Honour of being the only Crown that never fell on a Spindle.

#### CHARLES.

However, if your Family was abounding with Princesses, would it not be very unreasonable to preserve this Law in full Force? For in that Case a Prince has no Advantage that marries a Daughter of France, but only the naked Honour of being related to that Royal Family with the Promise of the Assistance of France, if he should be too deeply engaged in War: Alas! this is poor Comfort; because the Bond of Friendship and Confanguinity is commonly facrific'd to the Interest of State, especially by the French. If you fay, a Princess of France is endow'd with, perhaps, 4 or 500,000 Rix-Dollars, that is no great Thing; for a Merchant's Daughter, perhaps of a more handsome and agreeable Person, more virtuous and better temper'd, may be found with as much Dowry at London, Venice, Genoa, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. Besides, it is generally obferved of the Royal Daughters of France, that they are only Spies for that Crown, always in its Interest, and seldom hearty for the Interest of their Husband's Country or Kingdom, if it clash with that of France. But waving that,

Pray tell me why you sign'd the Articles of Madrid, which you never design'd to keep?

# FRANCIS.

I own, indeed, I ought not to have sign'd them; but I was afraid of being poison'd, or of growing delirious by Disturbance of Mind, and was also vehemently desirous to see France, where my Presence was much wanted, and my long and strait Consinement having much impair'd my Health, I long'd to be abroad at any Rate; but you was to blame to force me to promise what I could neither perform nor neglect with Honour. I us'd you better at Paris.

II. Interview.

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CHARLES.

#### CHARLES.

I grant it; but I was not your Prisoner, and had your Leave of a safe Passage thro' France; I never broke my Word to you at Madrid, but you had broke yours to me, if you had detain'd me at Paris.

#### FRANCIS.

I turn'd out my High Constable MONTMORANCY for advising me to let you go, when I found you laugh'd at me, and would not settle the Milanese upon one of my three Sons, as you promis'd once.

#### CHARLES.

I would have given it to the youngest, but not to the second, that it might never be an Appendix of the Crown of France, for the sake of preserving the Peace and Liberties of Italy. But I see you remember still that MILAN was the chief Ground of our Differences in the Land of the Living: Pray let us forget it, and I will call my Secretary to read the last Packet from the Earth.

Immediately he appear'd, and began to read.

II. Interview.

#### Sceretary.

ROME. The News of Conquering Sicily rais'd an inexpressible Joy among the Spaniards here, who affembled in Crowds every where, and diverted themselves with grave Reslections upon the important Subject; especially at the Palace of the Cardinal AQUAVIVA, (the Protector of that Nation,) which from Morning 'till Night every Day did swarm with them and the Ecclefiasticks that were expell'd from Sicily by the Duke of Savor, who much congratulated the Cardinal, as he assured them also of King PHILIP's Favour. But now the News of the utter Ruin of the Spanish Fleet by the British Squadron under Sir George Byng has made them disperse and hang their Heads; and on the contrary the Taverns are fill'd with Germans, who are extraordinary merry, and roar out Es leve der Rapler, Let the Emperor live, whose Health they drink first, then that of the King of Great Britain, and then that of the brave Admiral Byng, to the Terror of the Spanish Faction. The Court of ROME keep themselves very quiet at this Juncture; and to prevent all further Disorders and seared Mischies in this City, have prohibited all Crowds of People, and all publick Discourse of such News. In the mean Time, the Misunderstanding with the Spanish Court continues.

CHARLES.

#### CHARLES.

A true Emblem of the upper World, where Joy and Grief have their Turns! At Rome all Nations refort, and each Nation have their particular Church, where they preach in their own Language, and they keep together in a Faction, or National Party; hence it is, that if the People of one Nation rejoyces for a Victory, and fings the Te Deum, the others make Game of it, and diffurb their Joy, from which arise many Tumults and Quarrels: Therefore the Pope's Order about Crowds and Politicks in publick Conversation, is very prudent. As for the Advantage his Holiness expected from the Affairs of Italy, (in Case the Duke d' Anjou's Plots had succeeded, and the Turkish War had not been so happily sinish'd,) it is all turn'd to Gall and Bitterness; he dare not wholly follow the Directions of Spain, for Fear of the Emperors Displeasure; yet King Philip, as they call him, is hugely offended at him, even the his Holiness opposes only pro Forma from the Teeth out; because the Spaniards haughtily think the Pope should openly espouse their Cause without Fear.

#### FRANCIS.

The Pope is now put to all his Shifts, and fill'd with Fear and Confusion; but he must deal tenderly with Spain, lest they shake off his Authority, and his vast Revenues be diminish'd. I think the Emperor can never enough requite the King of Great Britain; for the English have great Commerce with Spain and they cannot safely be long at Variance: But that King and his Family always lov'd the House of Austria; and perhaps he is of Opinion too that the English Trade with Spain will be more successfully manag'd, if Spain is at this Time humbled, and kept from insulting her Neighbours, to which she is naturally dispos'd.

#### Decretary.

TURIN. At our Court good Counsel is very dear; for we can depend upon no Friendship, but must make our selves easy by leaving all to Providence: Nevertheless, our Ministers in France, England, Holland, and at Vienna, employ their utmost Prudence to perswade those Powers to espouse our Interest, and obtain due Satisfaction to our Sovereign for his Loss made by the Spanish Descent upon Sicily; and in Case he should lose that Island, to procure him an Equivalent.

II. Interview.

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CHARLES.

#### CHARLES.

The Duke of Savoy is a very able Politician, but seems to have dream'd at this Time, and used no Precaution; for he has secur'd neither Party to be his Friend; and seeing he was not actually in Alliance with Spain, he might have easily foreseen the Descent upon Sicily by their Armament, and should have put that Island into a better Posture of Desence; but this not being done, his Conduct is approved as political enough by some that believe he privately consented to the Spaniards Design, and will not incur the Displeasure of King Philip, unless he take the dangerous Resolution of receiving Imperial Troops into the Places of Sicily not yet possess d by the Spaniards. And you'll find the Duke must depend upon the Emperor's Generosity for that Island, or an Equivalent, for the Spaniards must abandon it, now that their Fleet is ruin'd; only the wise and brave Marquis de Lede will keep his Ground as long as he can.

#### FRANCIS.

SAVOY must court the Favour of his Britannick Majesty, and of the Regent of France, who will take Care to obtain for him a reasonable Satisfaction, because his Title to Sicily is grounded upon the Treaty of UTRECHT, which they must maintain: But if the Emperor alone was to transact with him, instead of receiving an Equivalent for Sicily, he would certainly be compell'd to restore several other Places to the House of Austria.

# Secretary.

MESSINA. The Spaniards having landed in this Kingdom about 26000 Men, did forthwith make themselves Masters of the City and Castle of Palermo, and of most of the Island, except Melazzo, Syracusa, the Castle of this City, and a sew more Places. When the English Fleet arriv'd at Naples, a PRIEST of that City hang'd himself for Grief, being a mighty Partisan for Spain, and lest behind in Writing these Words, Hoc Exemplum dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego seci, & ita vos faciatis; yet the Body of the Spanish Faction conceal'd their Grief, and boasted how bravely the Spanish Fleet would demolish the said British Squadron; but they were salse Prophets. For when Admiral Byng arriv'd in our Faro on the 10th of August, tho' the Spanish Admiral Gastagnetto ranged his Fleet in Line of Battel, he would not stand one Brush, but soon retir'd with all under his Command, and Byng did sharply pursue him, Il. Interview.

ordering his best Sailors to make up, and keep the Spaniards in Play untill he came up with the main Body of the Squadron, and at the Height of Syracuse they joyn'd Bactel, when most of the Spanish Fleet were fink, stranded, burnt, or taken, no more than fix Ships efectping and G. ft. gd netto, with his Vice-Admira were taken Prisoners with 7000 more. did the British Fleet escape unhurt; for they say one of their Men of War was funk, three of 'em burnt down, and other considerable Damage was done them by those of the Spanish Ships that were manned with Foreigners: But this is not much believ'd, and their Loss was inconsiderable, and soon made up, not only by the Honour of a compleat Victory, but with the Spoil of the Transports which were all taken, and with the vast Booty of Gold and Slver coin'd and uncoin'd that was found aboard. Three or four Thousand Imperial Troops brought from Naples aboard the British Squadron, landed here under the Protection of the Canon of the Castle St. SALVADOR, into which they enter'd in Sight of the Spaniards, who continue to attack this Place, which they have block'd up for some Time. We hope soon to see an End of these Convulsions.

#### CHARLES.

Important, but melancholly News for Spain! Her Hopes are blasted and crush'd in the Bud by one Scroke! What can the Spaniards mean by attacking Countries, and then soolishly supposing they have nothing to fear? Can Philip imagine himself exempted from observing the Law of Nations, or can he dream he has a Right to invade his Neighbours without declaring War in the usual Manner? Has he no Rgard to Faith and Troth, nor to the Friendship of other European Powers? It seems the soolish Spaniards believ'd the English appear'd at Sea only in Jest, or to frighten them into a Compliance; but they sound his Britannick Majesty had given his Admiral Byng other fort of Orders. These are shocking Things; but the worst of it is to see King Philip offer to rule the Seas without Leave from the King of Great Britain, who at any Time is able to send a Squadron to suppress his Infant Fleet, and to tell the Spaniards with a Vengeance,

Maturate fugam, Regiq; hoc dicite vestro, Non illi Imperium Pelagi—

And therefore he cannot have good Counsellors, being wholly govern'd by his Wife and Alberoni, who are as poor Politicians as Navigators.

II. Interview.

FRANCIS.

#### FRANCIS.

Yet it seems the Spaniards wanted to fight; because they fir'd first at the English: And the English wanted to pick a Quarrel with them; because after they had landed the Imperial Troops at Messina, they hossed Sail, and pursued the Spaniards. What will be the Fate of the Spaniards in Sicily will soon be known; the Imperialists are not so strong by 16000 Men as are the Spaniards, who also lye in a fruitful Soil, perhaps the most fertile in Europe: But if the Imperialists and Savoyards prove too many for them by a continual Transportation of Recruits from Naples, they can employ at last the Mediation of his Britannick Majesty for a Truce, and a safe Passage Home, which that King must undertake, because of the British Commerce with Spain, and the Emperor will readily grant it, in Order to have the peaceable Possession of Sicily.

#### Becretary.

PARIS. The Misunderstanding between the Regent and the Parliament encreases, because they undertook to publish an Edist forbidding all Foreigners, even tho' naturaliz'd, to meddle in Affairs of State and Government; and Monsieur de LAW, Director-General of all Royal Cases, not obeying it immediately, the Parliament cited him, and he not appearing, but retiring into the Louvre, they out-law'd him, and fet a Price upon his Head: Upon which, on the 26th of August, soon after Midnight, the Drums beat every where to Arms, when the Life-Guard of the Swifs and French Musqueteers, each confisting of 3000 Men; also the Grand Musqueteers, the Garde de Corps, the Gens d' Armes, the Carabineers, and the 100 Swiffers in Habit of Ceremony, forthwith appear'd in Arms, and rang'd themselves partly in the Royal Palace, and partly in the Court-Yard, and in other adjacent Places, Avenues, and Lanes. At Five a Clock in the Morning, Notice was given to all the Members of Parliament, that the KING would hold a Judgment-Day, and they were all order'd to appear before him in Habit of Ceremony, walking into the Louvre two and two a-foot; which was done accordingly, excepting the first Lords Presidents, who were prudently ill of the Gout, and pretending Inability to walk, were carried in their Coaches to the Palace-Gate. They found the KING fitting upon a Throne, and the Chancellor Monsieur d'ARGENSON at his Feet, the Duke of ORLEANS, and the other Princes of the Blood Standing at the King's right and left Hand, with the Mareschals, Dukes, and Peers of France, all rang'd in proper Order. Then the Chancellor rose up, and first of all Things moved, that the Parliament should make their Acknow-H. Interview.

Acknowledgement of his Dignity, which they made immediately and unanimously: Upon which the Chancellor deliver'd himself in a very losty Harangue, and made the Parliament sensible that his Majesty was highly displeas'd at their Boldness in attempting to claim an equal Power with him, by Publishing several Edicts prejudicial to the Royal Authority and Prerogative; and that therefore it was his Majesty's Pleasure they should annull and render void all those Things, and on the contrary should register his Royal Rescripts and Answers.

The Parliament humbly requested a Week's Time maturely to consider of these Affairs that were of the last Importance to them as a Parliament; and the Chancellor stepping up softly to hear the King's Pleasure, and the Regent's, return'd it to the Parliament thus, It is the King's Pleasure that you, without Delay, should deliberate and be obedient! And the Parliament not thinking it advseable farther to contradict Sovereign Will and Pleasure, consented to the King's Proposals, and so ended this solemn Act.

But the same Time the King notify'd to the Parliament, that they should not assemble without his express Permission; yet not minding that they assembled next Day, protested against what had pass'd the Day before, and pretended that their Consent was extorted by Fear and Force: Therefore in the Night were three Presidents and a noted Parliament-Man seiz'd and carry'd off Prisoners to a Place not yet well known.

The Duke du MAINE is also fallen into Displeasure; and at the above-mention'd Solemnity it was declar'd that the King had turn'd him out of all his Offices and Charges, and also taken from him the Title of a Prince of the Blood, before granted him for Life; and he was warned to quit all his Rooms in the Royal Palace, which he obey'd the very next Day; and the Dutchess of Orlean Ns accompany'd him to a Place out of Town, where he will stay until Rooms in the old Arsenal are sitted for him.

# CHARLES.

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Again Great Tidings, but such as intimate the consused State of France. The Parliament in former Times has undoubtedly concurred in Assairs of State and Government with great Authority, of which it was deprived by Degrees by Stratagem and Force; and more during this Minority: It seeks to swing itself alost again: On the contrary, the Duke of ORLEANS is resolved to maintain the Royal Sovereignty in its entire Perfection, and is therefore much hated by the Parliament, and will be forced to employ all II. Interview.

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his Policy to prevent the Members of Parliaments joining the Spanish Faction, which would cross his Hope of Succession to the Crown, in Case the young King should die.

#### FRANCIS.

Name and cannot possibly recover their lost Authority; and that if they offer at violent Means, they will put the whole Kingdom into Consusion. Meanwhile the Duke of Orleans makes himself very formidable by his Conduct hitherto, and has thus intimidated his Adversaries, and disabled them from attempting to oppose his Succession, in Case the Throne is vacant. And if the King arrive to Man's Estate, his Majesty must be sensible of the Obligations he lies under to that Regent for educating him to his Heart's Desire, and for so well maintaining the Prerogative during his Minority, not suffering it to be in the least infring'd or invaded by an assuming Parliament with their obsolete Privileges.

Hitherto the Parliaments Edicts against the Rise and Fall of Money have been very prejudicial to the Royal Authority, especially that against Foreigners meddling in Affairs of State and Government, levell'd principally at the said Mr. Law, the King's Director-General, who has incurr'd their Displeasure for being reputed the Author and chief Adviser of the Change of the Coin, which provok'd them to form that strange and unprecedented Resolution, with a Design to precipitate him as a Native of Scotland was treated as a Foreigners, though in ancient Times no Scotsman was treated as a Foreigner in France: He is at present highly valued by the Regent as a Gentleman of incomparable Parts; but he cannot long maintain his Ground against the general Clamour.

The Duke du Main, who ever fince the late King's Death has been a Malecontent, is certainly of the Spanish Faction, and blows the Fire of Discontent wherever he can: No wonder then that the Regent thought himfelf oblig'd to shew him his Authority; but the Conduct of the Dutchess is justifiable, because she is also the Bastard of the late King Lewis XIV. by his Mistress la Valliere; and she agrees not well with her Husband the Regent, being jealous of him, as some think, not without Ground. The Duke of Bourbon, who succeeds to the Offices of the Duke du Maine, they say is of a restless Temper, and a most ambitious Mind; but a mighty Friend to the Regent, because his Title to the Crown of France becomes nearer and stronger by the Title obtain'd for Orleans: He has but one Eye, having lost the other in Hunting, yet not a disagreeable Person.

II. Interview.

Secretary.

# Secretary.

LONDON. The KING has at Table drank Admiral BYNG's Health, and said he had obey'd the Contents of his Commission; and his Majesty has accepted of the usual Congratulations upon the Victory obtain'd by the said Admiral over the Spanish Fleet. Mean while, not knowing what Spain will say to it, Orders are given to sit out a new Squadron.

CHARLES.

This confirms the Opinion current of his Britannick Majesty, that he is in good Earnest resolv'd to reduce King Philip to Reason, and I suppose the Spaniards are now convinc'd of it.

#### FRANCIS.

And if the Spaniards' continue their Hostilities, that new Squadron perhaps will be sent to watch for the Spanish Plate-Fleet, and to spoil their American Trade, which would prove the greatest Mortification: Nay the English may fall on a Project to attack the principal Places in America that belong to Spain.

# Secretary.

HAGUE. The States have not agreed and resolv'd to enter into the Quadruple ALLIANCE; and that Affair is intended to be spun out and procrastinated as long as possible.

# CHARLES.

The Hollanders indeed would rather conclude a Treaty of Commerce than an Alliance that portends War; yet they will perhaps be oblig'd to it: for they will not readily provoke the Emperor, France, and Great Britain for the Sake of Spain, who will give them but little Thanks, even tho' Philip should succeed in his Enterprises; And therefore I wish the sagacious Hollanders would concur with the rest in humbling Philip at this Time.

#### FRANCIS.

To be sure they would have concurr'd before now, if the Affair of the BARRIER had been adjusted between them and the Emperor, who has been very hard upon the Republick; for which Cause they are negligent of the Interest of the House of Austria.

p.

#### Secretary.

against him by his eldest Son Prince Alexants — yet that Prince will confess nothing, not even for the Assurance of saving his Life, which his Father offer'd, if he would discover what he knew: Therefore his Majesty convocated the Nobility, the eminent Clergy, and the Officers of the Army, and of them he requir'd a Sentence against the said Prince, earnestly desiring them not to regard him as his Son, but as his Rebel and a Conspirator. Accordingly they found him Guilty, and gave Sentence of Death against him: When it was notify'd to the Prince, he was seiz'd with an Apoplexy, that made the Physicians open a Vein, and let him Blood, upon which he seem'd to recover; but another Fit and a new Accident besel him, and he gave up the Ghost. He was laid on a Parad-Bed, and openly view'd by all for some Days and then bury'd.

### CHARLES.

Every Prince, whose Father is a Sovereign, ought to be as obedient to his Father as any other Man, being no more than a Subject, and his Father is his Sovereign Lord; so that the Prince who grossly rebels against his Father, becomes guilty of Lese Majesty, and deserves to suffer for it. My Son Philip II. of Spain had the like Missortune with his Son Prince Charles, whom he condemn'd and put to Death in the 23d Year of his Age, Anno 1568. Yet the Case of such an unfortunate Prince is much to be lamented.

#### FRANCIS.

It has been currently reported, that the Physicians by Oversight, or otherwise, had taken from the Prince too much Blood; but however he is Dead, and so sav'd his Father the Trouble of executing the Sentence of Death upon him, as thereby also he has prevented Plots, Conspiracies and Tumults in the Kingdom that were inevitable if he had liv'd; for many of the chief Families in Russia were deeply engag'd in that unhappy Affair, and gave occasion to the Czar to deal sharply with them, to banish some of them, and to put others of them to cruel Deaths. But let me tell you, if the Czar had been King of Great Britain, he could not have used his Son after that Manner; because they are a free People, and his Son must have been try'd as a Perr of the Realm, secundum allegata of probata, not in an arbitrary and despotic Way; and the Parliament there justly claims an Interest in all the Heirs of the Crown, It. Interview.

both apparent and presumptive, whereby they are freed from a slavish Dependance on Ministers and Favorites; though I doubt not that the Parliament could condemn any of them to Death for High Treason, if found guilty; but the Czar has in himself the full Sovereignty of Kings, Lords and Commons, as you and I had, and as most Princes have still, or would have.

# Secretary.

VIENNA. The News of concluding the glorious Peace with the Turks at Passarowitz affords the highest Satisfaction and Joy, which was on the 14th of September last, when her Majesty, the reigning Empress, was happily deliver'd of a young Princess; and the Joy is kept up by fresh Accounts of the Loss the Spaniards have sustain'd in the late Sea-Fight, more than we thought of; which makes us think they are neither able nor willing to stand another Brush of a British Squadron.

#### CHARLES.

The Emperor and his Friends at Vienna have good Cause of Joy; for this Peace with the Turks confirms to him the Possession of all his late Conquests, the strong Forts of Temeswar and Belgrade, with several more Cities, and a vast Extent of Land on both Sides of the Danube; so that the Turks cannot so easily march to the Gates of Vienna as formerly; but will find much harder Nuts to crack than ever, and have Reason to give up their old Design of conquering all Europe. But if the Empress had born a Son, their Joy had been more encreased.

# FRANCIS.

Certainly the Turks must have been reduc'd to very great Straits, else they had not consented to the Emperor's Terms; yet they keep all they had conquer'd from the Venetians, which is a good Equivalent. But it is lucky for the House of Austria that the King of Great Britain is her Friend; for partly by his Mediation at Passawitz, and partly by Admiral Byng, he has not only deliver'd the Emperor from his Enemies, but enlarged alfo his Dominions, has discover'd his Assection to the Imperial Family, and his firm undaunted Resolution in all his Undertakings.

# Decretary.

MADRID. Count STANHOPE, the principal Secretary of State to his Britannick Majesty, was admitted to an Audience of the King and Queen, and was also well received and entertained by Cardinal Alberoni;

11. Interview,

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but he could not succeed in his Negociation; for the Cardinal told him plainly, that the King would come to no Terms, until first Gibraltar and Port-Mahon were given up to him; and when that was once done, then his Majesty would treat about the following eight Articles, viz.

- 1. That Sicily and SARDINIA should for ever belong to the Crown of Spain.
- 2. That the Emperor give the Duke of Savoy an Equivalent for Sicily in the Milanese-
  - 3. That the Pretensions of all the Italian PRINCES be satisfy'd.
- 4. That all the Imperial Troops marching for Italy be countermanded and recall'd.
  - 5. That for the future only a certain Number of Troops be kept in Italy.
- 6. That the Emperor engage not to meddle in the Succession of Florence and Parma.
  - 7. That he renounce his Pretensions to the Imperial Vassalages in Italy.
- 8. That Great Britain immediately recall her Squadron from the Mediter-

Upon which Count Stanhope retir'd in Haste from Madrid towards France, and at his Departure told the Cardinal, in a facetious Manner, that he doubted not but his King would soon be obliged to send a Minister to London, in order to sollicite there for what had been offer'd him here and refused.

### CHARLES.

Holla! Holla! What proud Propositions are these! What means King Philip and his ambitious mercurial Spouse, with their Pedagogue Alberoni, in offering such Terms? But now I think on't, they cannot have receiv'd the News yet of the ill Fortune of their Fleet; for when once Gastagnetto's Letter arrives, the Cardinal will be ready to wish that Stanbope had been better used, whose Answer was exceeding fine and worthy of so great a Man, and his Prophecy is like to be soon accomplish'd.

II. Interview.

FRANCIS.

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#### FRANCIS.

No doubt, for all PHILIP's End is to oblige the Emperor to renounce the Spanish Monarchy, and to acknowledge him as the lawful Sovereign of it; and seeing the Emperor has condescended to this in an Article of the Quadruple Alliance, Philip will soon accommodate himself to the Proposals of the Confederates, and be glad of the Mediation of England: But he cannot be blam'd, if after such vast Preparations to gain his End, he is willing to try what he can do by Strutting; only he will be blinded and mistaken, if he offers to make Reprifals on the British by seizing their vast Effects and rich Merchandize in Spain; for if he thus provoke them to put on their Harness, they will not accept of a mean Satisfaction, and the true old Spaniards will then curse Alberoni, and lament that their Frenchify'd KING is too much under the Influence of Foreign Councils, and that the Cardinal plowing with the King's Heifer does what he pleases, in Contempt of the wholesome Advice of the ancient Grandees, who have already with Boldness remonstrated the Absurdity of a War with Britain.

But, worthiest CHARLES, you have been both Emperor and King of Spain, and must needs well understand the History of this Kingdom; pray therefore be so kind as to give me a short Account of Spain.

#### CHARLES.

Very freely! That Part of Europe, now call'd Spain, was antiently divided into many little Kingdoms and Sovereignties, each having its particular Prince, until at length most of them were reduced under the Yoke of the three Christian Kings of Arragon, Leon, and Castile, and the King of the SARACENS. My Mother's Father, FERDINANDUS CATHOLICUS, expected nothing of his Father but Arragon, and the Provinces annex'd to it, viz. Valencia, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, with Sicily and Sardinia, which he came to the Possession of Anno 1479. When HENRY IV. King of Castile dy'd Anno 1474, he left a Daughter call'd JOANNA, marry'd to ALPHONSUS V. King of Portugal; who therefore form'd a strong Pretension to the vacant Throne of Castile; but this JOANNA was not the lawful Daughter of the faid Henry IV. as she pretended, and only a Bastard whom Henry had privately sent away from Court by the Count of Ledesma; and FERDINAND, while only Prince-Royal of Arragon, understanding this well, and having marry'd the Castilian Princess Isabella, the Sister of the said Henry IV. asserted with Sword in Hand his undoubted II. Interview.

Right to the Crown of Castile Itte Matiti against the said Alphonsus V. of Portugal, and having prevail'd over him in War, he annex'd to the Crown of Arragon the Kingdom of Castile old and new, the Kingdom of Leon, with Gallicia, Asturia, Biscaja, Estremadura, Andalousia, and Murcia.

Thus Ferdinand became a great Monarch, and well able to oppose the Mahometans and Boots, (who were called Saracens, because Maho-MET pretended he was descended from Sarah) that possess'd the fine Kingdom of Granada, and were a great Eye-fore to Ferdinand; who being jealous of their growing Power, and ambitious to be Lord of all Spain, form'd a Resolution to extirpate them, which he put in Execution Anno 1491, and by an Army of 60000 Men forc'd them to surrender, after a long Siege, the powerful City of Granada, where their King resided, and where were 60000 Houses, and 200,000 fighting Men: And in order to clear the Kingdom of those Infidels, and that all Spain might be of one Religion, there were massacred above sifteen hundred Thousand of the Moors, even all that could be found, except such as deny'd their Nation and Religion, and call'd themselves Spaniards; or such as escap'd by flying over to the African Shore, whose Posterity maintain an implacable Enmity at the Spaniards, because of the said Massacre and Expulsion of their Progenitors.

The Pope was so mighty well pleased with my Grandsather Ferdinand's Zeal for Uniformity in Religion, and for expelling the Insidels out of Spain, that his Heliness conferr'd upon him the Title of the Catholick King, which remains to this Time the distinguishing Title of the Kings of Spain.

This Ferdinand the Catholick was more and more fortunate; for Anno 1493 he conquer'd the Province of Roufillion; and Anno 1501, he feign'd to affift his Cousin the King of NAPLES against the French, while he privately promoted his Ruin, and divided that Kingdom with the French; but Anno 1503, by a special Turn of Policy and State-Crast, he deceiv'd the French too, and so got the entire Possession of all that Kingdom.

Ferdinand also obtain'd the Kingdom of Navarre by the Pope's Assistance; for King Joannes Albretanus having deny'd to Ferdinand a free Passage through Navarre, in order to make an Irruption into France with an Army, his Holiness was pleased to excommunicate the said King John upon that Account, and offer'd to Ferdinand the Execution of the Sentence (which was no more than to be the Pope's Hangman) which he accepted of with a thousand Thanks: Accordingly he led a powerful L. Interview.

Army thither, drove King John from his Lands and People, and put himfelf into Possession of the upper Part of Navarre, which is still annex'd to the Crown of Spain.

Anno 1492, Ferdinand transported his victorious Arms upon the African Shore, where he conquer'd Oran, Meille, Mazalquivir, and Pennon de Velez. TRIPOLI and Pugia were likewise taken, but soon recover'd by the Moors.

Towards the End of the 15th Century, a special and unheard of good Fortune attended Spain: for about the Year 1483, the Spaniards posses'd themselves of the Canary Islands that still belong to the Crown of Spain: And Anno 1492, King FERDINAND rigg'd out that curious Genoese Navigator Christopher Columbus, with 17000 Ducates, who at that Charge discover'd the new World, from whence many Ships loaded with Gold and Silver have been ever fince brought into Europe. This other Side of the Globe was call'd America from AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a Florentine, who Anno 1497, fail'd along most of its Continent: Its Extent and exact Bigness was never yet discover'd; and to this Day many Indian Kings remain undisturb'd in their Dominions and Heathen Religion; but Spain got Possession of a prodigious Country in America that brings in more Money than all Europe can yield; tho' both the Continent and Islands are but flightly inhabited, because at first the Spaniards barbarously murder'd and drown'd about fifty Millions of Americans, which drove the Natives to other Parts of America, oblig'd Spain to send the more People from Europe, and made the Name of a Spaniard odious, even among the Heathen: So that once when an American KING on the Point of being executed. was told fomething about Heaven and Hell, he ask'd, whether the Spaniards went to Heaven? And upon their affirming it, he reply'd that he would rather go to Hell with the Indians than to Heaven with the Spaniards! This made the English and French and other Europeans to be better esteem'd by the Natives, when they planted their Colonies in America.

No Prince in Europe ever had a better Prospect of the universal appointably than Ferdinand the Catholick, nor better Means of acquiring it, but knew not how to use them, and committed gross and irreparable Blunders and false Steps in State-Policy, by those dreadful Barbarities exercis'd upon the Indians; by introducing into all his Dominions the terrible spiritual Tribunal of the Inquisition, for the Sake of pleasing the Pope, and for Uniformity in Religion; by the Persecution that followed, and II. Interview.

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Expulsion of the Jews, who amounted to about 170,000 Families; by the entire Extirpation of the Moors, and by sending such vast Numbers of his own People into America, without allowing the Assistance of other Europeans. No wonder then if we hear that Spain is both the richest and poorest Country in Europe, being divested of the greatest Wealth, a a numerous and industrious People, and poorly inhabited by a thin and degenerated Race not able to defend their Soil.

But upon Ferdinand's Death, and my succeeding to be King, the Kingdom of Spain had better Fortune; for it was powerfully affished by all my other Dominions, the Netherlands, the Milanese, the Austrian Countries, the Franche Comtée, and the Empire; and the Spaniards were wont to fay, that the Splendour of their Monarch darken'd all the Rest of Europe; as indeed Spain was raised in my Time to its very Zenith of Glory, having been ever since upon the Declension.

But as I was the most mighty and grand Monarch of Spain, under whom its Glory was most advanced; so under me likewise its Glory began to fall and diminish: For I did not rightly consult the Interest of Spain, in bestowing upon my Brother FERDINAND the Anstrian Countries and the Empire: yet my Son PHILIP had been still the most mighty and glorious Monarch in Europe, if he had not been too proud and referv'd in his Temper, too rigorous and severe in his Administration. too stiff and violent both in forming and executing his Resolutions. 'Tis true he acquired the Kingdom of PORTUGAL, and join'd it to Spain, Anno 1579; but Bigotry and Tyranny drove him into the ridiculous Politicks of the Clergy, to fet up the Inquilition in the Netherlands: My native Country, and a kind-hearted People, whom I tenderly manag'd, he treated with extreme Cruelty and Barbarity, designing to give them some Occasion or Handle of Insurrection and Rebellion, that he might have some Ground of robbing them of their excellent Privileges; for I left them the freest People upon Earth. A Revolt happen'd accordingly, by Reason of the Inquisition, which began about the Year 1565, but a very fatal one to Spain; for the seven Northern PROVINCES tore themselves off, and united under the Stadtholdership of the Prince of ORANGE, Anno 1572, erected general and particular States, and establish'd their new Government, by declaring themselves a free COMMON-WEALTH, by maintaining a long War against my Son and Grand-son with great Advantage to them; and at last by obliging my Grand-son Philip III. to own them as a Free State who was glad to be at Peace with II. Interview. them, them, Anno 1609, as we have been well informed hereof: And now the great Monarchy from which they revolted, stands in Awe of them, cultivates Friendship with them, and is glad of their Protection.

Yet this was not the only Blunder of my Son; for I was told he drove near a Million of his People out of his Dominions, upon the Suspicion of Heresy, or of their not being good Roman Catholicks; and oh! what wretched Accounts have all in Elysium received of his confounded Policy, in attempting to be Master of England, Anno 1588. But when his invincible Armado, after many Years Preparations, arriv'd on that Protestant Coast ——— I stop; for you need not be told what came of it; blasted it was by a visible Judgment from Heaven, and ridicul'd by all the World. Yet Philip, after this, endeavour'd to add something to the Spanish Monarchy, and therefore bought from a Genoese Family the Haven of Final on the Tuscan Coast; but before he could well improve it, he died in a most miserable Manner, not sain in War, but eaten up of Lice, Anno 1598, unlamented, except by the Clergy, because he was their sole Property.

Nor was his Son PHILIP III. less govern'd by the Priests. for he had also the mad Disease of \$10001-hunting, and, Anno 1610, banish'd 900000 of 'em into Africa, or forced them to be gone by Persecution.

But if his Son PHILIP IV. (who began his Reign Anno 1621) was less govern'd by the Clergy, he was yet more govern'd by Court-Favourites, and some artful Politicians, who influenced him not to deal fairly with CHARLES Prince of WALES, Anno 1623, and to delude the English Nation in the Affair of restoring the Palatinate to Frederick its lawful Prince: His Ministers also engaged him in a long War with France, Anno 1625, whereby the French were justly provok'd to affift the brave John Duke of BRAGANZA, Anno 1640, in the Revolution of PORTUGAL so artfully contriv'd, that the whole Kingdom revolted in one Day, shook off the Yoak of Spain, and crown'd BRAGANZA their King, who, I own, had the hereditary Right. Upon the News of this, his Prime Minister foolishly congratulated him with the Forfeiture of Braganza's Estate, but could never yet come at it. Catalonia revolted too, but was reduced; tho' Portugal never was, nor is like to be, while they have the good Alliance of Great Britain, by Commerce. At NAPLES also, Anno 1647, Masauello raised a vast Tumult, and thought to have made a Revolution too; but the Mob were not govern'd by wife Men, and therefore they were foon suppress'd: Yet still the Spanish Monarchy dwin-II. Interview.

dled; for the French were very successful during the long War, and took the fine Province of Roussilion with some Districts in the Netherlands very commodious for France: Nay, the Usurper of England District Cromwell did snatch away the Island of Jamaica, Anno 1653.

CHARLES II. succeeded Anno 1665, in a very unhappy Time, when your Successor Lewis XIV. was rising and towering in his Glory, who took from Spain the Franche Comtée, and many Cities in the Netherlands, which were confirmed by the Peace of Nimeguen, as the Property of France: And no Wonder; for Lewis was a glorious Fellow, either lov'd or fear'd by all his Neighbours; whereas Charles was half an Idiot, good for nothing but to say his Prayers, and to live indolently under the entire Management of the Priests and the Women.

When he died without Children, the House of Austria had the Right of Succession to the whole Spanish Monarchy; but LEWIS XIV. of France by King-Craft and Prieft-Craft got his Grandson PHILIP d' Anjou upon the vacant Throne, which has produced a bloody War for twelve Years, finish'd at the Peace of Utrecht and Ranstadt, whereby Spain is a very great Sufferer, very much exhausted and dismember'd. It had been better if the Project of King WILLIAM of Great Britain had took Effeet by a Treaty of PARTITION, tho' neither the House of Austria, nor that of Boutbon affected it; for after all this dreadful Havock and Expence of Blood and Treasure, at last by the said Treaties of Utrecht and Ranstadt, the EMPEROR gains the Milanese, some Forts on the Tuscan Coast, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and all the Spanish Netherlands, the Duke of Savoy is made King of Sicily, (only that he will be glad perhaps in Time to change it for Sardinia,) and Great BRITAIN has got the impregnable Fort of Gibraltar, with the Island of Minorca; as the Emperor of FEz hath fiez'd on Mazalquivir and Oran in Africa; and King PHILIP V. has got the rest, viz. all that large Country properly call'd SPAIN, about 150 German Miles long, and as many broad, besides the Town of Ceuta in Africa, the Canaxy Islands, Majorca and Tvica, and all the Spanish WEST-INDIES.

'Tis a wonderful Turn of Providence, that tho' PHILIP V. (who has deprived the House of Austria of Spain) is the next Heir to the Crown of France, in Case the young King Lewis XV. die without Male Issue; yet he has renounced his Pretensions to it, and is thereby secluded and banish'd from it; and the Duke of Orleans in that Case has II. Interview.

the Right of Succession, which I doubt not he will maintain, if he can, by the Help of his Allies, and so disappoint the Hopes of seeing France and Spain under one Crown, which was the darling Project of Lewis XIV. A late and pregnant Instance of the Uncertainty of human Designs and Views!

PHILIP has never yet concluded Peace with the EMPEROR, only confented to the Neutrality of Italy; because his Wise is against it: She is a Princess of PARMA, perhaps one of the cleverest Women upon Earth, has innumerable and powerful Charms, and withal a Soul most ambitious full of Fire and Resentment, which is mightily admir'd by Philip, who becoming Indolent, has left the whole Government to her and her Chaplain Alberon I, now made a Cardinal, and the Prime Minister of Spain. They perswaded him Anno 1717, to take Sardinia, while the Emperor could not hinder it, because he was deeply engag'd in War against the Turks at that Time; and also a few Weeks ago they advis'd and order'd the Descent upon Sicily, without a previous Declaration of War, whereby Philip has lost his fine Fleet, which cost many Millions, and shall not be able to keep Sicily neither.

Incredible was the Wealth which was brought from America to Spain in the Days of Ferdinand the Catholick; and during my Reign, and my Son's, and Grandson's; for then a common Soldier would return with 10000 Ducats from those Parts: But the Flota's are not so richly laden now, tho' still a very considerable Treasure arrives at certain Times in Spain, that might render the King very formidable, if it was well manag'd; for Spain lies well for the Trassick of all Europe: But the Spiritual Foundations and Cloysters have much weaken'd the Royal Incomes, and the Grandees, Governours, Ministers of State, and all the vast Multitude of Officers in general, of various Kinds, distress and cripple the Crown by their extravagant Pensions and Salaries; nay, and the Overplus is so wretchedly husbanded by the ill Managers of it, that commonly very little goes into the King's Costers; but 'tis reported, that Philip's Queen will inspect into those Abuses, and use another Method in the Treasury.

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The Spanish Nation, or People, are very ingenious, and the they have not produc'd such a Multitude of good Scholars as France has, yet no Country can boast of greater Scholars, or of better Understanding; They are also extreamly crafty, jealous, revengeful, and cruel too, when they have the upper Hand, or Conquest; but they are beyond Measure addicted II. Interview.

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robe edsy and lazy, and negligent of Business, perhaps occasion d by their Pride, and therefore disdain to carry their Goods to Foreign Markets, but will have the Foreigners to come to them and setch away the Profit of Commerce. In their Dress, Garb, and Gestures, and in all their external Conduct and Actions, they appear most ridiculous to the other Nations of Europe; and hence the Dutch, when describing a ridiculous or comical Thing, use the Proverb, Es kourt reth Spanish because, This looks like true Spanish. Lastly, being so intolerably proud, stiff, and haughty, they have the great Missortune to be hated by all the World, and until they learn a few French Aires, they are inconversible.

We have now reasoned and rehears'd enough together for one Time, partly from our proper Knowledge, and partly from very credible Accounts in Elysium; and so I bid you heartily farewell.

# FRANCIS.

I thank you, dear CHARLES, that you was pleas'd to afford me fuch an agreeable Paffe-Temps; and tis fit we should retire now to our several charming Dwellings in the Realms of Death. Adieu! Jusques a Phonneur de vous revoir!

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not product a fight a Multitude of good Scholers of liance has, yet no Country can booth of graver Scholars, or of bener Underlier ding: They are allo extreamly crafty, judons, revengeful, and oned too, when they have the upper Hand, or Conquell; but they are beyond Meafure addiced.

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Charles . I. The Parliament & Kingdom too The Rump! Ax & Hands were w! Else I had from y Austrians took my Royal Blood imbruid. th'Imperial Grown & Shield.

Gustavus Adolphus. a leaden Bullet was my Bane

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# INTERVIEW

IN THE

# Realms of Death,

BETWEEN

CHARLES I. King of GREAT BRITAIN,

A W Pills tinis Interview

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS King of SWEDEN.

Wherein is contain'd,

A Letter to GUSTA VUS concerning CHARLES XII. late King of SWEDEN.

II. All the most remarkable Occurrences in GREAT BRITAIN, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the Birth of King CHARLES I. relating to him, unto the 19th of March 164. when he came to YORK. The Rest of his History will be continued at the end of the next Interview.

III. Their Political Reflections on the News.

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Written Originally in bigh Dutch.

#### LONDON:

Printed for J. HOOKE at the Flower-de-Luce over-against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street; R. FORD at the Angel in the Poultry; and J. GRAVES near White's Chocolate-House, St. James's. Where Subscriptions are taken in, and Receipts given.

The delaying to publish this Interview has been owing to many Causes that are not needful to be mention'd here. But the Translator assures the Subscribers, he will do them Justice with all possible Expedition, tho' he cannot publish the Work Monthly, as he at first intended, it being very laborious.

# INTERVIEWS

# Realms of Death,

# ELYSIAN FIELDS.

WITH

Political Observations and Reflections on each.

INTERVIEW III.

BETWEEN

CHARLES I. King of Great Britain, AND

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS King of Sweden.

Dercuty having brought a Packet for the brave Gustavus the Swede, his Majesty retir'd with it into the perpetually green Fields and lovely Shades of Elyfium, where opening the first Letter, he found it was written from Stockholm, by a Lover of his Country; and thus began to read.

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fort you are still alive, especially among your GORTZ) that from him, or some of his Mi-III. Interview.

own Swedes, who daily quaff it to your glorious and immortal Memory, being inspired, HO' you are now a Stranger to ever fince your Death, with a peculiar heroi-mortal Men, all of them talk of cal Bravery, that would well fuit a King, who you as if they had liv'd in your had the Ambition of becoming the Grand Time, and had been your intimate Acquaintances: your wonderful Atchievements are chronicled, and in dead; and I request you would find him out every Nation you are proposed as the Partern in the vast Beatms of Death (if you have of a wife and gallant Prince; fo that in fome not met him, nor Count PIPER, nor Baron

wifters, you may be inform'd of the amazing pas he had forced King A v cos Tues, which Years, which to Posterity will seem roman, Glory, and would prove the impregnable Setick and incredible, though transmitted by curity of the Swedish Nation: Upon which young Hero, while a meer Youth, abhord the wards Mofow, fillh firthing Terror where-Elector of S ax only for renouncing the Pro-testant Religion for the take of the Crown of Town nor heretofore known to the German gustus. The Czar of Muscovy, who had quests, and of the Swedish Glory, which had long'd for an Occasion of settling in the Bal-now mounted to its Zenith, or highest Point, tick, join'd in Alliance with the faid Electoral as ever fince it is upon the Declenfion. King, and march'd 60000 effective Men, with CHARLE'S befreged this Fort, and the liev'd Narva in December 1700.

Protestant Religion to the Evangelical States C Z A R. with Success; and the Balance of Power was certainly in his Hand: but alas! he was de of the Christian. Name. ferted of Providence, and knew not how to improve his Opportunity!

For the Dake of MARLBOROUGH, who is as great a Politician and Courtier as a Soldier, went to Saxony to visit him, flatter'd Peace of Rothschild had yielded to Sweden him to the highest degree, and made him the Province of Schonen, but now poor this fondly baliere, that with his invincible Army Emergency attempted to recover it, tho in he would as easily force the Cznato refign, vain ) first as Helfignore, and afterwards at

Turns have happen'd in this Kingdom of late would be a greater Monument of his immortal the most impartial Historians. Our dear the valiant King left Saxony, and marched to-POLAND, and determin'd never to Nations, but now for ever memorable for Theath his Sword, until he had depos'dedu-being the Boundary of CHARLES'S Con-

a good Train of Artillery, and all necessary Cz AR's Army retrenched near it, to watch Stores, through Ingria, and laid Siege to his Motions, to bring the Swedes to a suitable Narva, but not much to his Honour; for our Accommodation, or to a Battel. The CZAR young CHARLES, guided by a faithful was truly afraid, and offered the moltrealon-Boor, march d with only 16000 Swedes, and able Terms imaginable; but GHAREE's was without a Train of Artillery, over Hill and inexorable, and forced the Muscovites to a Dale, through Countries generally thought Battel, who were far more numerous, and impassable, and came unexpected upon the better appointed than the Swedes, and in the Russians, whom he totally souted, and re-lifue gave our King a total Rout: when Fortune jilted the Hero, and Victoria quite deser-After this he invaded Poland, took many ted him, his whole Army was ruin'd, his strong Gities, and fought many bloody Ministers of State, his Generals, and other Battles with glorious Success; that large Officers, were either massacred or captivated, Kingdom trembled at his Name, submitted he himself was forely wounded, and narrowto his victorious Arms, and became no Hin-[ly escap'd, with some of his Men, over the drance of his penetrating into Saxony with his Dnieper, into the Turkish Dominions; General gallant Army, where he forc'd King Av- Lewen-haupt furrendred himself, and his Body GUSTUS to refign, and appointed King of 16000 Swedes, as Prisoners of War to the STANISLAUS to reign in his stead, by victorious Russian Army, who obtain'd one of the Peace of Altranstadt. Then gave he Laws the most compleat Victories upon Record, atto the haughty House of Austria, forc'd tended also with Consequences very dismal the Emperor to restore the free Exercise of the for Sweden, and very advantageous for the

of Silefia, that had been dong oppress'd, con- For immediately Finland, Ingria, and Livetrary to folemn Treaties: Then was he cour- mia, were possessed by the Museoutes; and sed by all the Crown'd Heads of Europe, espe- Courland, Lithuania, and Poland, were soon early by his old Friend Lewis XIV. of France, clear'd and deliver'd of the Swedes, whose as being the only Prince capable to decide valiant King was reduced to feek Protection in the Grand Controversy, by joining himself to Turkey; a Thing unheard of before, that a either Side he pleased, with his Army Hush'd Christian King should find an Asylum and Retreat only in the Dominions of the Arch-Every

> Tistrue, the brave Count STEINBOOK, with a little Army of resolute Sweden, triumph'd awhile in the Neighbourhood of Pomerania, and beat the Danes (who in the Gade-

MI. Interview.

Gadebusch, in a gallant manner, where he Muscovites had reach'd as far as Alland, not forc'd the Danish King to fly for his Life to the next Fortress; and because the Danes had, by a Bombardment, ruin'd Staden, General Steinbock made Reprifals, by burning Altena near Hamburgh. Yet he spoil'd all and quite miscarried at last, when he took possession of the chief Holftein Fort, Tonningen, contrary to the Neutrality agreed upon between Holfein and Denmark; for he was blockaded by the Northern Allies, and, for want of Stores, was oblig'd to furrender upon Discretion, when the Fort was raz'd.

Mean while the Danes, having been foandalously repuls'd by the obstinate Swedes, in their Descent upon Schonen, and in their first Invalion upon Swedish, Pomerania being not less unsuccessful, their King seiz'd upon the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, and sold them to the Elector of HANOVER: Stettin (much covered by Muscovy) was taken into Sequestration by the King of PRUSSIA, and the rest of Pomerania was obligated to observe

an exact Neutrality.

But valiant CHARLES, having staid five whole Years in Turkey, where he had undergone a strange Variety-of Circumstances, and suffer'd inexpressible and uncommon Difficulties, arriv'd at last in his own Dominions, attended only by the chief Lieutenant General During, in fourteen Days, Journey a Horseback from Jassy in Wallachia, thro Austria, Bavaria, Frankonia, Hessa, &c: until he came to Straalfund, unexpected, the 22d November, 1714. Which Riding cannot be parallell'd in History, and perhaps the like was never perform'd by a Monarch in the Winter Seafon.

His amazing Journey and fafe Arrival amus'd the World, and alarm'd the Northern Allies; for he rejected their Proposals of Peace as prejudicial and dishonourable, nor would agree to the Neutrality of Pomerania upon the projected Footing: therefore Denmark, Poland, Pruffia and Muscovy confederated most famous Fortress, whence CHARLES departed the Night before in a small Frigate for Sweden; upon which the Town of Wifmar was wholly raz'd by the faid Allies.

III. Interview.

far from Stockholm, on the one fide; as on; the other, vast Preparations were made in. Denmark for another Descent upon Schoner, whereby Sweden must have its Death's Wound and Coup de Grace. But in the greatest Apprehension of Danger, Providence interpos'd by dividing the Counfels of the CzAR and the DANE at Copenhagen: the CZAR from fecret Views did fart some Difficulties that delay'd the Execution of the Scheme, and at last countermanded his Troops; whereby the Project of the Danish Descent prov'd about tive, to the great Joy of Sweden; nay, the CZAR also entred into a Treaty of Peace. with the Enemies of Denmark.

But the Sweden had some Respite on the fide of Muscovy, yet she was quite exhausted of Treasure and Trade, and the Want of Money daily increas'd; fo that the Swedes were wink'd at in equipping Privateers, who committed many great Piracies in the Baltic. and took an incredible Number of Merchant Ships from the English and Dutch, under the Pretence of their aiding the open Enemies of Sweden, which only provok'd those maritime Powers to Jealoufy and Resentment.

And because our reftless HERO had no Opportunity of Action in Pomerania, Holftein or Jutland, he form'd an Enterprize upon Norway, and invaded that Kingdom twice, but without the defired Success; for the Norvegians were too well prepar'd to receive him, and to dispute with him every Inch of Ground; yet he advanced as far as Frederick'shall, defigning, after he had taken it, to open a Correspondence by Sea between Norway and Swedens But Man may propose, God only disposeth; for at that Siege the over of the Golden Lyon; tho' whether by the Fire of the Besieged, or of the Besiegers, remains a Question.

His Army then left the Siege, and fought to return to Sweden; but very few of em against him, belieged Straalfund, and after ever faw their native Country again, being landing upon the Isle of Rugen, took that drowned, or starved by the Way; and the Danes were now animated to attempt what they pleas'd, while Sweden was like to fall into violent Convulsions. But -

Here Gustavus halted, and stopt his Rea-Oh! my Country! more loyal to her King ding, saying to himself; This brief and gethan any upon Earth, even while beggar'd by neral Account of Sweden confirms the more long expensive Wars; and while the implacable particular Accounts that have been formerly

transmitted

transmitted from the Land of the Living to Stage of Time in the middle of your Trithe chief Perfons of Elysium. I will go in umph, which I long to hear from your-Quest of my heroical Successor CHARLES XII. and from him, or fome of his great Men lately come into these happy Regions, I doubt not to be agreeably entertain'd with the whole History of Sweden, fince I left the Earth. Oh! thy wretched Circumstances lie near my Heart, my gallant Nation. But who approaches and overhears me in these lonely Shades? I know him by his grave Gate and thoughtful Alpect, not my CHARLES, but the unhappy King of Great Britain CHARLES I. whom I have feen in Company with others, and have long'd to meet him here alone : I will entice him to walk into yonder pleafant Alley, in order to be duly inform'd of his Edinburgh on the 5th of April, he arrived tragical Story.

GUSTAVUS. Most welcome worthy CHARLES, I thought you was here deliver'd of worldly Affections and melancholy Thoughts, and that you enjoy'd, as well as others, full Contentment and perfect Serenity; but from your Afpect I am apt to conjecture the contrary, and that you are somewhat discompos'd at present.

CHARLES.

I am generally, dear GusTAvus, as happy as any in Elysium; but, walking here alone, began to reflect on the Misfortunes of the Royal Family of STEWART, and particularly on the Calamities that happened to my charming Grandmother M ARY Queen of Scots, and to myself, whereby I turn'd very pensive and uneasy, calling to mind my difgraceful Exit, and the Villany of those that murder'd me.

GUSTAVUS.

It falls out well for me to find you thus engaged; for you are the better dispos'd to Anno 1632, before your fatal Civil-Wars and Rebellions, and could not know your Miffeeing the Accounts I have hitherto received | War. of those Times are lame, or intricate, or par-

CHARLES.

III. Interview.

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The English Royal Family of TUDOR (which by HENRY VII. did succeed to that of PLANTAGENET) expiring with Queen ELIZABETH on the 24th of March 1603. (beginning the Year with Fanuary) my Royal Father, JAMES VI. King of SCOTLAND, the Son of MARY Queen of SCOTLAND, the Heiress of JAMES V. the Son of JAMES IV. and MARGARET his Queen, the eldest Daughter of HENRY VII. King of England, did succeed to the English Crown by Proximity of Blood, and by the Appointment of Elizabeth; and fetting out from fafe at London on the 7th of May, and was received with the universal Applause of the People.

I was then but two Years and fix Months old; for I was born on the 19th of November, Anno 1600, at Dunfermling, and baptiz'd there by a Presbyterian Minister of the Church of Scotland by Law establish'd; was from my Birth the Darling of my Mother, the Lady ANNE Daughter of Frederick II. King of Denmark, and with her came into England, as Duke of Albany, with my eldest Brother HENRY, the Prince and Steward of

SCOTLAND, in June 1603.

My Father and Mother were crown'd at Westminster on the 15th of July following, whereby the Crowns of England and Scotland were united, though not the Kingdoms, and my Father Stiled the King of GREAT BRITAIN, being the first that ever could claim the Title; upon which King HENRY IV. of France said, when the News was brought him, C'est trop pour un Pedant, That's too much for grant my Request : You know I was kill'd a School-master ; because my Father had been educated in Philology and School-Learning, which indeed he affected most, as he hated fortunes but by those that died fince; but the Skill of Arms and the glorious Din of

Next Year I was made Knight of the Bath tial, I beg you would be so kind as to relate and created Duke of York, though my Brother the most remarkable Turns of your Life, and HENRY was not created Prince of WALES how at last you was turned off the Stage of until Anno 1610, when Archbishop BANCROFT died, and GEORGE ABBOT succeeded to be Metropolitan. HENRY, though not much above I'll grant it very freely, hoping you will nine Years old when we left Scotland, afterwards relate your glorious Course of retain'd all his Life a vast deal of the Calvi-Life, and how you was also hurried off the niftical PURITANICAL way, whereby he

foon became the Darling of the English Puri- and to call their King only Primus inter Pares, tans and Presbyterians, and was their avowed the first of Peers and King of Scots; so Friend at Court, tho' my Father often warn'd that when my Father came first to England, him against it, and was much offended. he said merrily, now I'm once King of Scotland; Therefore my Royal Parents took care that for they had restrain'd him within the Bounds I should not fall into the Hands of the Church of Law, and had consulted the Liberty of Puritans, or their Friends the Brownists and the Subject more than the Prerogative of the Presbyterians, by providing for me a quite Crown, which made him very uneafy till different Education.

dy of the Church of England, and the others | ving been the LORDS PROPRIETORS of were diffenting Puritans, some of 'em affecting all Scotland, for all Lands there are held of the Independent Scheme a little, and most the Crown) I say, the Puritans hoped my Faof 'em that of the Scots Kirk, but both join ther would readily comply with their Poliing against the English Prelacy and Ceremonies, ticks. and professing the same Doctrine of JOHN CALVIN with the Church Puritans, so valu'd himself upon his hereditary Right, and call'd only by their Enemies, and in Derision would not part with any Prerogative that thus charged with the Error of the ancient was enjoy'd by Elizabeth, who, he thought, Cathari, or with esteeming themselves more had only a popular Right, affirming she was pure than other Christians, which they always not lawfully born, as she was wont to affirm disclaim'd. They maintained a friendly Cor- that he was not lawfully begotten; for neither respondence with the Protestant reformed Chur- of 'em wanted a witty Turn. the English Papists, then wholly under the ma- Cost. lign Influence of the Fesuites; pray'd heartily for the Down-fall of the Great ANTI- of Scotland had not used him well, nay, had CHRIST the POPE of Rome, for the studied to thwart and disoblige him; and as Favorites, with their wicked Moncpolies, and under his Countenance. overgrown Estates.

fmoothly did what she pleas'd, was very ar- being pleas'd with, they proceeded to fignify bitrary, and always loving her People, they so much throughout the Kingdom, and were lov'd her, as the happy Instrument of their soon join'd by those Clergy-men who had Protestant Constitution, and the went on with- formerly despised the Protestant reformed out Controll all her Time: But they hoped Churches, admired the Church of Rome, my royal Father, being educated a Presbyterian, except in the Affair of Transubstantiation, the would comply with their Lcclesiastical No- PopE's Supremacy, and a few more of all Nations the most zealous for civil Liberty, (for their Nobility and Gentry were nion and Coalition with Rome. And 111. Interview.

QUEEN BESS died: Tho' they were pre-The Church Puritans at this time were the Bo- sumptuous in saying so, my Predecessors ha-

But they were miserably mistaken; for he

ches abroad, and heartily wish'd for a more But my Father consider'd not, that if harmonious Coalition with them against the ELIZABETH had reign'd much longer, Scarlet Whore of Rome, (as they usually the English Nation, being much increased in call'd the Church of Rome) and therefore Wealth and Learning, had struggled with her were dispos'd to part with several Usages of 100 for their Liberties, which they were rethe Church of England which hinder'd that folv'd to refume, and maintain at all Ha-Harmony; and ever watch'd the Conduct of zards, as afterwards I found to my fad

Besides, he thought the Presbyterian Clergy fpreading of the Reformation abroad, and the he came into England breathing his Displea-Advancement of it at home. In State Mat-Ifure at them, and vowing Revenge, some of ters they were not Republicans, but much the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of ENGLAND against the Growth of the Preregative, and began to raise a new Party in opposition to zealous for the Frequency and Freedom of all forts of Puritans, which might comply Parliaments, against the exorbitant Power of with all the King's Measures, and grow up

This new Party began at Court, first by Queen ELIZABETH cunningly and ridiculing the Puritans: which my Father wont to call themselves the Kings of Scotland, tho' they were but a Handful at first, they Court, and by preaching up the King's Supremacy in Matters Ecclesiastical, and the Perple's indifferfiele Duty of unlimited Paffive Obedience. and Non-resistance upon any Pretence whatser ever; and by winking at the impolitick Meafuxes of the Administration, and the immoral Practices of the Court, which the fqueamifb Puritans could not bear, but inveigh'd against them with such Reflections, as at Court were call'd in

folent and unmannerly.

Archbishop WHITGIET, (who was a Puritan) in the fift Year of my Father's Reign try'd Intion vanish'd when I was 12 Years of Age. their Skill by Archbishop BANCROFT, his Successor, a Man of a rough Temper, and a warm Stickler for what he call'd the Rights of the Church, who exhibited to the King and Council 25 Articles, in the Name of all the Clergy of England ( tho' the hundredth Part of them knew nothing of it) call'd Articuli Cleri, about granting Prohibitions at common Law, without confulting the Parliament or Convocation, then both fitting: In which Exhibition they ascribed an absolute Power to the King, and affirm'd that his Council had a concurring Power with the Parliament, and in many Things a Power Paramount. But tho' the Judges answer'd it with such Strength of Argument that the King did not care to meddle with it, yet the Prerogative-Clergy fwell'd the High Commission Court to such an Satisfy the Clamour, his Body was diffected; Height, that it was complain'd of as a Grie- but the Paritans would not be fatisfy'd. vance in Parliament. After this one Dr. Coswel of Bancroft's Faction, publish'd a Book nor lasting; nor did my Party stick to say call'd the Interpreter, wherein he afferts that that Henry's Death was very feafonable for the King is foliutus a Legibus, not bound by them, because I succeeded to be Heir appahis Caronation Oath; that there was no New rent of the Crown, and of the Headsbip of the coffity to fummon Parliaments for the making Church : And even the Puritans feem'd to of Laws, which he might do by his absolute forget HENRY, and to stop the Current of Power; and that it was an Att of Grace in the their Tears, upon the Marriage of my only King to admit the Subjects Confent in raising Sifter the Lady ELIZABETH to FRIDE-Subfidies: Nay, one Parfon Blackwood wrote RICK V. the Palizgrave of the Rhine and higher, in afferting, that the People were all ELECTOR Palatine (afterwards King of high Church Party, fave only that they Harth. III. Interview.

increased in Time, by being Favorites at the quite changed in the Point of the King's Sme bremacy, being in that much akin to the Scotch Presbyterians, who were always for the Independency of the Church, and against the Ulurpations (as they term'd it) both of Popes and Princes; as the noble Doctor Co MIPTON, Bishop of London, lately come into these happy

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Shades, hath inform'd us.

Being committed to the Care of those old High Church Men, they prevail'd with my Eather to resolve upon giving me an Eccles-This NEW PARTY, upon the Death of aftical Education, to qualify me for the Me-Propolitical Chair of Canterbury; but the Resoupon the Death of my Brother HENRY. on the 6th of November, 1612, when he was 18 Years, 8 Months, and 17 Days old. I remember he was lamented with a bitter Mourning, as a wife and pious Prince, frong and agile of Body, of a lovely and gallant Appearance, and of a most heroical Disposition, an Encourager of all ingenious Craftsmen, especially Ship Builders; was usually call'd the growing Hopes of ENGLAND, and Delicia, Decus humani Generis, the Love of Men: The NOBILITY crowded his little Court, sometimes, even to my Father's Displeasure; and after he was dead, they all strove to excel in rehearing his Praises, and generally cry'd out of his having been poifon'd, because he died suddenly; so that, to

The Sorrow at Court was neither violent the King's Slaves by the Norman Conquest. Bobemia ) on the 14th of February 1613, This offended and inflam'd the Parliament; when the King my Father ordered the greatbut the King interpoled, promising to call in est Expressions of Joy that ever were seen in those Books by Proclamation, as he did, tho' in England; tho' my Mother was against this vain; for they were only the more taken notice. Match, and would fometimes with Indigoaof, which was the King's Intention; and tion call my Sifter Goody PALTZ-Bancreft's Party had the Pleasure to be under GRAVE; to which my Sifter once reply'd, the Royal Protection, and to lay the Founda- I would rather be the PALTZGRAVE'S tion of what is now call'd in England the Wife, than the greatest Papist Queen upon

and now Earl of Sometfet, with Frances tion. Daughter of Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk, lately Countefs of Effex, who contrived the Murder of Sir Thomas Over Bury : and I memember my Father perceiving they had made him an Inftrument in their Uncleannels and Murder, enjoin'd the Chief Juffice Coke to make first Enquiry, concluding with these awful and folemn Words; God's Curfe be upen you and yours, if you spare any of em; and God's Curse he upon me and mine, if I pardon any of iem! I wish he had not faid it, bet cause they were both pardon'd Anno 1615. tho Somerfet was no more a Favourite; and in order to keep him out, Archbishop Abbot got my Mother to arge my Father to choose in his room an hand fom Youth in fine Apparel, Mr. George Villiers, a younger Son of Six no Scholar, Politician or Soldier, yet becreated Prince of Wales) Privy Counfellor, ingham, Lord Admiral and Warden of the done. Cinque Ports: He got his Mother made a MII. Interview.

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This Marriage was foon follow'd by that confectated as a withirt Order of Ecclefiof Sir Robert Ker, my Father's Chief Favou- afficks fure divino, which had never been acrite, made Viscount Rocheffer Anno 1610; knowledged in Sectland fince the Reforma-

For the about the Year 1606 my Rubber appointed Bifhops there, which he thought great Point gain'd ; yet they bad no other Sanction but his Putent; and thouthey were call'd My Lord, they were no more than zonfant Moderators or Super-intendants in fact, and only the Shadow of a great Name, that Church having retain'd all the reft of her Presbyterian Constitution, her Kirk-beffions, her Claffes or Presbyteries, her Provincial Synods, and National Synod or General Affembly, to which Ecclefiaffical Court or Judicatory even the Bishops were subject: And tho' Anno 1610, in the Affembly at Glafgow, certain Conclusions were enacted for onlarging the Authority and Power of the King and the Billiops in Matters Exclesiastical, which George Villiers, a compleat French Beau, but were ratify'd by the Scots Parliament, Anno 1612, my Father then fending for three came the greatest Favourite ever heard of Sots Bishops, who were re-ordain'd by riting not by degrees, but all at once, being three English Bishops, with a View to remade Anno 1616 (the same Year that I was ordain their Brethren the other Bishops upon their Return, but not the inferior Cler-Mifter of the Horse, Knight of the Garter, gy, who would never come under that Othen Lord Whaddon in the County of Bucks, peration: Yet the other Stots Bishops would and Viscount Villiers, and next Year Earl of not, perhaps in Prudence, be re-ordained till Buckingham, and next Year Marquis of Buck now, that my Royal Father would have it

This occasion'd a general Discontent, espe-Counteft, who govern'd her Son in all Re-cially among the Glergy, who exclaim a moves and Advancements both in Church and against it as an abominable Usurpation, and State, the minding the Money, while he having no Canons but their Acts of Affembly, minded his Pleafores; and therefore all Ad- provid refractory, flighted the Bifbops, and dreffes being made to her, the facetious disown'd their pretended Divine Right of be-Count GONDAMORE wittily wrote to Spain, ing a diffinit Order of Ecclefiafticks; affirm-That now there were fome Hopes of England's ing, they were no more than the King's Ec-Conversion to Rome, because here were more clesiastical Commissaries, and abhorr'd them Oblations made to the MOTHER than to the for depretiating and virtually renouncing Son. My Mother hated him; and I could their former Ordination, which was as valid, not abide him for offering once to firike me, they faid, as that of the other Reformed till a little before he carried me into Spain; Churches, according to which they modell'd yet was pleas'd to fee him patromizing my their Conflitution at the Reformation, that High Church Party, who were entirely in his began there in my Grandmother's Minority, Interest, and soon got Dr. William Land was establish'd in her Reign by the Parliamade one of the King's Chaplains, who (af- ment, and after her Flight into England, it was ter my Father had visued Scotland, Anno meliorated in my Father's Minority; so that 1617.) prevail'd with Bucking ham to prempt when he came of Age, he could not reduce the King to order all the Scots Bishops, who it to the Model of England, till he ascended had only Presbyterian Ordination, to be red the English Throne, when by degrees he atordain'd by English Bishops, and then to be tempted it: For he hated Presbytery, as what

not fit for Monarchy; whereas the PRELATIS twentieth Part of the Clergy; but the Thing being appointed by the Crown, and not by was detefted, as a Trick of Court, in order to the Pepe, he knew, would generally be facilitate the Introduction of all the English favourable to his Interest, especially in Parliament; and was therefore wont to lay Mo Bilhop, Do Ming. The other Reform'd Churches had been much oppress'd by both Bilbops and Kings, which might lead them to reform in the Presbyterian Way, especially in Gommonwealths; nor did the Scots No BILITY affect the Grandeur of Prelates, and none of the Scots Popish Bishops at the Reformation turning Protestant (as in England) the N bility flruck in with JOHN KNOx's Scheme, whom they much rever'd as an Apostolical Man: Besides, they generally believ'd their Nation had been anciently converted to Christianity by the CULDEES, a fort of Presbyterians, long before Scotgreat part of the Crown's Patrimony, during Arminians. the faid two Minorities.

my Father endeavour'd to unite the King- too much Heat and Bitterness, the Puridoms; and failing in that, he thought at least tans being encourag'd by having the King on of uniting the Minds of both Nations, not their fide of the Question, and the Arminionly by a mutual Naturalization, and the In- ans were excited to it by their Interest at ter-marriages of the Nobility, but especially Court: For tho' my Father lov'd the Docby establishing of Prelacy, and also the Usa-trine of the moderate Puritans, he hated ges of the Church of ENGLAND in his an- their Persons and Politicks, and was always cient Kingdom of Scotland; the first of pleas'd to see the High-Party increase for the which he obtain'd, but never durft venture Advancement of his Sacred Boyal Diero: on the other, fave only that Anno 1618, he gative both in Church and State; and they ordered the Scots Clergy to consent to the five had soon been the Majority, if he had been Articles at PERTH, viz. 1. To receive the Lord's Supper kneeling, and from the Hands of Ascendant at Court: For ABBOT was out the Minister. 2. To baptize Children in private of Favour, who abhorr'd Dr. Laud, Bishop Houses, if they were in danger of Dying. 3. To Neal, and all the Arminian Faction, especiadminister the Lord's Supper in private Houses to such as desir'd it. 4. To confirm Children by dents and young Clergy, as he express'd it; for the Bishop, when they had learnt the Cate-incensing the King against the Professors and chism. And, 5. To keep the Festivals of our Sa- Lecturers of Oxford, who then were general. viour's Nativity, Death, Resurrection and As- ly Puritanical; and for advising the King to cension, with Pentecost or Whitsuntide. These publish last Year by Proclamation the 25008 were approved but by a scanty Number of of sports, giving leave for what was call'd Divines, after much Heat and Debate; but innocent Recreition after Evening Prayers: never recogniz'd in a free and full Assem- on Sundays, in Pity of the People's hard La-BLY of the Church (tho' confirm'd by Par-bour all the Week. This last was a Coup

III. Interview.

he thought (with Queen ELIZABETH) liament Anno 1621.) nor received by the Usages.

This Commotion in the Church of Scotland kept them from fending Commissioners to the Synod of DORT, that met this Year, fave only, that Dr. Balcanquel, a very learned Scots Divine, was fent thither by my Father to join the four Enolish Commissioners, in order to be call'd Theologi Britannici, the British Divines, where they affifted in condemning the Tenets of the Arminians or Remonstrants, which my Father also condemn'd: For tho' he hated Presbytery, he was truly a moderate Calvinist all his Life, which hinder'd the mighty Growth of Dr. Laud's Party in his Reign; whereas the Doctor and his Friends, long before the Synod of Dort, having resolved to LAND had any Diocefan Bishop: Some of differ from the Puritans in every thing posem perhaps had an Aversion to be like Eng-sible, without which they could never suc-LAND in any thing, and most of 'em found ceed in a Coalition with Rome, and thus betheir temporal Account in it, by dividing ing of the same Opinion before, they readily among themselves the Revenues of the Church, propagated the Remonstrants five Articles of which were very confiderable, and also a Dort, which made the Puritans call them

Hence arole a War among the Clergy; they But now the Two Crowns being united, preach'd and wrote against each other with also an Arminian, they having wholly the ally for debauching the Minds of the Stupurpose to gain the Populace to the Court side; for not affecting the Prerogative in Matters Ecwhich was impracticable while they were at- clesiastical. This was the Source of many Miltach'd to the Puritan Clergy, who in this Point, chiefs afterwards. as well as in Prelacy, differ'd from the foreign Calvinists, but agreed with the Scots in the Morality of the Lord's Day, and rigidly kept it ho- Popish Recusants, by virtue of some Penal Staly; and because many of 'em, being scrupulous, would not read the Book of Sports in their Churches, as enjoin'd by my Father, they were profecuted in the Star-chamber, ejected from their Livings, and their Places were fill'd with Ministers of a more complaisant Disposition, which increas'd the High Party, tho' the Body

of the Clergy were disgusted.

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Doctor Laud was not yet in very great Esteem with my Father, because he had provok'd him, first by marrying Mountjey Earl of Devonshire to the Lady Rich (the Mother of Robert Earl of Warwick, and Henry Earl of Holland) while her Husband was alive; and afterwards by importuning him to promote in Scotland an exact Conformity to the English Church, tho' he knew how poorly the Perth-Articles had pass'd: For my Father knew better the Genius of his Nation, and was averse to raise more Broils and Tumults there. But when poor Lord Verulam was turn'd out from being Chancellor, and Doctor Williams Bishop of Lincoln got the Seal to Keeper to recommend Laud to that Promotion, and to take no denial from the King; and my Father being tired out with Importunity, yielded with Reluctancy, faying, And is there no Woe but you will carry it? Then take him to you; but on my Soul you will repent it! With some other angry and ominous Expressions: For afterwards Williams repented the recommending of Laud, as much as Abbot repented the recommending of Buckingham.

The Puritans indeed reported, that Laud obtain'd this Bishoprick by a slavish and abominable Evidence of his Obeysance to Buckingham; but I never believ'd it, because he had given fufficient Evidence already of his being in that Favorite's Interest: But Bishop LAUD was avenged on them; for under his Influence his own Party flourish'd, and the Puritans lost Ground. The shortest way to Promotion in the Church was to be Laud's Disciples (as in the State, to adore Buckingham, and bribe his Mother) whom he taught to hate the Reformed Churches, to call the Puritans Judaizing Sabbatarians for being against the Book of Sports, and Disciplinarians

Interview.

de Finesse, a clever Stroke, of the High Party, on nay, to represent them as Enemies to the Crown,

But the Dissenting Puritans were more roughly handled, even sometimes as if they had been tutes made in the Reign of Elizabeth, which were often too rigorously executed by those that found their Account in it: And therefore in the latter End of my Father's Reign, and in mine too, until the Year 1637, many Thoufands of 'em, nay fome whole Congregations, Pastors and People, to shun Persecution, desired a voluntary Banishment, or transported themselves into America, where they settled, especially in NEW ENGLAND, and multiply'd apace, converted more Indians than all the other Colonies, and are now, as we hear, a rich and formidable People, retaining their old Religion and Utages, and have never submitted to the Church of old England. Others of em, and of the Scots Presbyterians too, for not submitting to Prelacy, being banish'd or forced to go abroad, were kindly entertain'd among the Reformed Churches, and some of them there shone illustrious in the Schools of Theology, whereby my Father's Reputation was much impair'd, and his Policy defpis'd; for many of 'em wrote learnedly against keep Anno 1621, the Bishoprick of St. David's his Conduct, and much expos'd him, particubecoming vacant, Buckingham obliged the Lord larly the learned CALDERWOOD, a Scots Divine, by his Book call'd Altare Damascenum, which, my Father faid, none of the High Party could answer.

NOR was my Father more prudent in State Affairs: In his Proclamation for his first Parliament, he gave Orders what forts of Men should be chosen by the Commons, and how qualify'd, with many directal Threatnings against the Transgressors of his Directions; which was contrary to the Freedom of Elections in former Reigns. It is the old English Constitution, that the King is the Head, and the End of the Parliament, which hath two Houses, first, that of the Lords; and fecondly, that of the Commons. In the upper House the TEMPORAL Lords, or the No-BILITY, fit by Birth right and personal Capacity; but the Lords Spiritual, or the two Archbishops of CANTERBURY and YORK, with the twenty four Bishops, fit there not as Nobility, yet are Lords of Parliament in Right of their Bishopricks, which they hold of the Crown by Barony: And in the lower House are the Knights or Commissioners of the Counties of England and Wales; and the Citizens or Commissioners from Cities, the Burfor affecting to revive the Primitive Discipline; Igella from Corporations, and Barons or Burgelles

from the Cinque Ports, or five Maritime Towns. | and the English Puritans, than by my Father: The House of Lords is the highest Court of Judicature, and the dernier Resert of all Appeals; and the House of Commons, tho' no Court of Judicature, except in what concerns their own House, are the Representative Body of all the Commons in the Kingdom. These two Houfes make and form all the Laws and Statutes, which yet are only Bills, and not Laws without the King's Consent; and as they are two Parts of the Legislature, they are not restrain'd to the Laws, like the Inferior Courts. By this happy Constitution, the King is freed from the Imputation of Tyranny in fanguinary Laws, and in taxing the Subjects, who cannot complain of what is done by their own Representatives; and the two Houses of Parliament think they are the best Eyes and Ears of the King, who know the State of the Nation better than Courtiers, Favorites and Flatterers: For they meet to redrefs publick Grievances, by reprefenting them to the King; to punish Men that are out of the reach of the common Rules of Justice, for abusing the King's Name to attain their Ends, or for proving dangerous to the Government: Alfo to make Laws against flagrant or growing Evils, or to repeal inconvenient Laws; and to supply the King with Money for the Support of the Kingdom, as there may be oc-

But my Father foon quarrell'd with his first Parliament (which met on the 19th of March 1604.) about Prerogative and Privilege, till the Gun-Powder Plot reconcil'd them: They recogniz'd the Title of him and his Heirs to the Crown; but making difficulty in raising Money, they were dissolv'd on the 31st of December 1609, which put him upon inventing new Ways and Means for Money without a Parliament, as by Monopolies, Knights Baronets, Knights of Nova Scotia, English, Scots and Irish Nobility, Compositions upon defective Titles, and for Affart Lands; for marrying the Lady ELIZABETH my Sifter, the Tax of Benevolence, Money borrow'd on Privy Seals to be paid at latter Lambmass, besides the Sales of Crown Lands, &c. I need not tell you, how he dissolv'd his second Parliament without passing one Act, and that a little before my dear MOTHER dy'd (viz. on the first of March 1619.) my Spanish Match was proposed; nor how it fared with my unhappy Brother-in-law, the King of Bobemia, proscrib'd by the Emperor Anno 1620, who fled to Holland with my Sifter and Family, where he was maintain'd more by the Charity of the Dutch, the Prince of ORANGE,

and how at last they beg'd of him to preserve the Palatinate, which he undertook, but in vain, vet flatter'd himself to succeed in it by my Marriage with the INFANTA, and to get two Mil-

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You also know, how my Sister's Distresses mov'd my Father to call his third Parliament. which met on the 30th of Fanuary 162;, who being a Pack of Puritans, and zealous for her, gave him some Subsidies; yet for inquiring into Grievances, the Spanish Match, and the Growth of Popery, after much Altercation, they were diffolv'd on the 6th of Fanuary 162? and then he raised a great Contribution without them, which he lavish'd on Buckingham and others, who bid him always depend upon the Spanish Match, the Hiftory of which was fo well known in your Time, that I shall not resume the melancholy Account, how Buckingham decoy'd me thither, and how passing through France incognito, I had a view of the Princess HENRIETTA MARIA, Daughter of King HEN. IV. and Sifter of LEWIS XIII. who was afterwards my Wife; how that if the Court of Spain had been as expeditions as they were fincere, or had I not gone to Spain, or had Buckingham not gone with me, I had been married to the charming INFANTA, who lov'd me heartily, as I lov'd her, till Buckingham rival'd her, and made me act dishonourably towards her by breaking off the Match without Reason, only to please him, which broke my Father's Heart. You have heard how pleas'd the Puritans were with Buckingham for breaking that Treaty of Marriage, but not long; for that when the Earl of Briftol, who had very well managed the Treaty all along, return'd home, he open'd People's Eyes; and they were foon further convinced of their Folly by the French Treaty of Marriage commenced privately, while the Spinish Treaty was yet breathing, and my Father's 4th Parliament was fitting, on the 16th of February 1624; for he was as defirous to fee me married, which he never faw, as to obtain the Spanish Infanta's great Portion, which he never obtain'd. This Puritan Parliament (as all my Father's were) voted Buckingham innocent, and that my Father could not in Honour proceed in the Spanish Treaty, and raised three Subsidies, and three Fifteenths, for a War to recover the Palatinate; but petitioning against the Papists, he adjourn'd them, and they never fat more in his Time to do Bufinels.

And now my Negotiation in France was publickly carried on, and was well entertain'd by LEWIS; but cunning Richlieu well knowing

III. Interview.

of the Articles is Favour of the Papifts that King of all BRITAIN and IRELAND. were agreed to in Spain; and tho' my Bride's Portion was only 800,000 Crosuns, not the tenth Part of the Infanta's, yet she got better Terms as to Fointure and other temporal Concerns, which were fign'd by Hay Earl of Carlile, and Rich Earl of Holland, at Paris, with Richlieu, on the 10th of November 1624, with the following Articles, viz: That MADAM the King of France's Sifter should have all free Exercife of the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Religion, and all ber Officers, and her Children, with a Chappel in all the Royal Houses, and a Bishop with 28 Priests: That the Children Should be brought up by Madam in the Catholick Religion until the Age of 13 Years: That all her Domesticks should be Catholicks: That his Britannick MAJESTY and the Prince of Wales his Son should swear not to attempt by any Means to make Madam to change her Religion, or to force her to any thing contrary thereto; and they should promise by Writing, in the Faith and Word of a King and Prince, to give order that the Catholicks, as well ecclesiastical as secular, who have been imprison'd since the last Edia, should be set at Liberty: That the English Catholicks should be no more enquir'd after for their Religion, nor constrain'd to take the Oath that is contrary to it; and their Goods lately feiz'd should be restored, &c. And because the noble SoubizE, the Protestants Admiral, commanded the French Seas triumphantly, the Cardinal threw in another Article, that my Father should lend to Lewis a Fleet to suppressoubize, and that Lewis should permit Count Mansfield to land at Calais with the Army he had rais'd in England, and should join him with auxiliary Troops to march for the Recovery of the Palatinate.

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But the' this was done, and the' Leavis had folemnly promis'd to render to my Father all good Offices in his own Person; yet when Mansfield had shipt his Army of 10000 Foot and 2000 Horse at Dover, and fail'd over to Calais, he was deny'd Entrance; and lying long neglected at Sea, without Instructions, Provisions, or a landing Place, above two thirds of 'em perish'd by Hunger, Cold and Pessilence, before they obtain'd Leave to land in Holland. My FATHER indeed should have highly refented this Affront, but had no mind to quarrel, (which the French well knew) nor much longer Time in the upper Regions; for on the 27th of March, 1625, he demised his Royalty at

my Father's Fondness would not abate one jot | King of SCOTLAND, and full 22 Years

YOU fee my Father intail'd upon me a War for the Palatinate, but not against Spain; tho' while his Corps lay unburied, Buckingham prevail'd with me to levy 12000 Men, and rig out a Fleet against Spain, part of which was first lent to Lewis to defeat the brave Soubize; for nothing must hinder my Marriage, which on the 11th of May 1625 was folemniz'd at Paris, the Duke of CHEVREUX being my Proxy; and on the 17th I buried my Father in Wostminster-Abby. Then I fent my Buckingham to bring over my Bride, who arriv'd at Paris on the 24th, and even far out-shone the gaudy Court of France in Splendor and Magnificence; nay, also took upon him to intimate his Love to Lewis's QUEEN, for which Richlieu, inflam'd with the same Passion, artfully affronted him. My Bride arriv'd at Dover on the 13th of June, and I met her at Canterbury, where I consummated the Marriage at Night, and brought her to London on the 16th, where a terrible Plague

was sweeping away 35417 People.

The Puritans perceiving their Folly, the too late, in opposing the Spanish Match, and that this was more against the Interest of England, which had already produc'd my Proclamation of the first of May for a Suspension of all the Laws against the Papists by my Soveraign Authority, and beholding Popery establish'd in all my Palaces by my Marriage-Articles; they influenc'd my first Parliament, which met on the 18th of June, to declare against a War with Spain; and they voted only two Subfidies for the Palatinate, petition'd against Popish Recufants, took fire at the Countenance given to Arminianism at Court, which was chiefly propagated by Bishop Land and his Creature Dr. Montagu, who reprinted his Book call'd a New Gag for an old Goofe ( for which Abbot had reprimanded him ) with the new Title of An Appeal to Cafar, and dedicated it to me; and for which the Commons had ruin'd him, if I had not intimated my Displeasure at their proceeding without my Privity against my Chaplain, and took the Affair into my own Hands. This was the first open Breach between me and the Parliament: The next was occasion'd by my pardoning fix Popish Priests condemn'd by Law, after I had affur'd the Parliament that the Force of the Laws against Popish Priests should Thechalds, and pass'd into the Begions of the not be eluded; for which both Houses (then at Dead, having reign'd almost from his Birth, Oxford, because of the Plague) join'd in comespecially upon the Flight of his Mother, as plaining of my French Wife, and of Bucking-

deed he made an Apology for himself, but not to their Satisfaction, which inclin'd me to dissolve them; but the Keeper WILLIAMs implor'd me with Tears to confider, how in his hearing my Father on his Death-bed had charged me, faying; Call Parliaments often, and continue them, the their Rashness may sometimes offend you: I assure you by my own Experience, you shall never reap Advantage by falling out with Parliaments! And WILLIAM s added: Let it never be faid, Sir, that you kept not a good Correspondence with your first Parliament, do not disseminate so much Unkindness throughout the Kingdom; the Love of your People is the Palladium of your Crown, according to your own Motto lately flruck, Amor Civium Regis Munimentum; but if you disolve this Parliament now and upon this Occasion, you may look for the next Swarm to come from the Same Hive. Yet neither he, nor the Lords that join'd him, could prevail against Buckingham, who perceiving Admiral Pennington was come to account for lending the English Fleet to the French without Advice of Council, whereby the Reformed at Rochell lost their Fleet under Soubize, with the Islands of Rhee and Oleron, nor could they longer be supply'd by Sea; upon which Richlieu, being High-Priest that Year, firuck this Prophecy, Florebunt Lilia ponto, the French shall flourish at Sea : I say, Buckingkam kept Pennington out of Sight, until, on the 12th of August 1625, I had dissolv'd the Parliament, rather than redress a few Grievances; whereby I lost the proper Means of carrying on the War against Spain, which also prov'd scandalously unsuccessful: For Sir Edward Cecil, made Viscount Wimbleton, the General of the Expedition upon Cidiz, did nothing, nay omitted doing his Duty, and return'd foolishly without the half of his Men in November; and I as foolithly prohibited all Commerce with Spain, to the great Detriment of England.

Yet Buckingham not being able to supply my Necessities, I was forced to summon another Parliament, took the Seal from Williams, and gave it to Coventry: I was crown'd with the ulual Magnificence on the 2d of February 1625, when Briftol and Williams were deny'd the Privilege of doing their Homage at my Coronation; nay, I made Land to act as Dean of Westminster for Williams, and without his Leave. My second Parliament met on the 6th, and would not hear of granting Money till they had enquir'd into the Nation's Grievances, and the publick Mismanagements in general; and Dr. Montagu not

bam's despotick and fingle Administration. In- Commons of breaking the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and diffurbing the Peace of the Church and Kingdom in many Passages of his Books, contrary to the Articles, Homilies, Common Prayer and Conflictation of the Church of England, which they could easily prove; but he escap'd with Buckingham by the Dissolution of this Parliament. Land fretted at this Arraignment of his Pupil; but Buckingham did not meddle in it, hoping this might divert the Storm from himself, tho he was much mistaken; for he was to be found at the Front Indeed I enof all the other Grievances. deavour'd to divert them by fending feveral Messages about the Affairs of Christendom, the Honour of the Nation, the Necessity of speedy Supplies for the War, affuring them they should afterwards have leave to fit and apply themselves to redress Grievances; to which the Commons made a very handsome Return, but befeech'd me to accept of their Advice in curing those Evils that occasion'd my Wants, and their Griefs. To this I reply'd, that I thought they hunted for Grievances, and would not allow any of my Servants, especially the more eminent, to be question'd by them; that the old Question was, What shall be done to the Man whom the King delights to honour? but that some of late feek what shall be done against him; that I faw they aim'd at Buckingham, who had done nothing but by my special Directions.

Upon this the Commons voted only three Subfidies and three Fifteenths, but refolv'd to give no more till they had some Grievances redress'd, which gave Buckingham no Ease; therefore I made another Speech for him, and impower'd the Keeper to acquaint them, that their Enquiry against the Duke was to wound the King's Honour and Government, that they should leave those things to the King's Wisdom, Care and Justice, and not traduce my Great Council of State, and that the King would forgive what is past, if they would raise more Supplies. And I put them in Mind that Parliaments are wholly in my Power, for their Calling, Sitting and Dissolution. But this had not the defired Effest; for first the Earl of Bristol having obtained his Privilege of fitting in Parliament, and fully answer'd all the Articles brought against him by my general Attorney, he exhibited a Charge of High Treason against Buckingham; and at the same time the Commons impeach'd the Duke in 13 Articles, one of which was for poisoning my Father; demanded of the Lords being censur'd by me, was impeach'd by the to commit him, which was not done, protest-SHI HOOM NIL

Ill. Interview.

ing that their Supplies would turn to the Hurt of at the Instigation of Buckingham: For he had the Kingdom till he was remov'd, and drew up

a large Representation of Grievances.

Therefore feeing my Favorite thus doubly fform'd, and utterly unprovided to defend himfelf, I resolv'd rather to part with the Parliament than with him, and diffolv'd them on the 15th of June 1626, contrary to the Advice of most of my Council, and the Petition of the House of Peers, whereby I loft four Subfidies, which the Commons intended for me. I publish'd a Declaration afferting my facred royal Prerogative over Parliaments, and my being accountable to none but God for my royal Actions, and fignifying my Reasons for dissolving these two Parliaments; And I committed Bri-fol to the Tower, tho' to his Honour he adher'd to me in the Long Parliament, when many I had rais'd from nothing deferted me.

You may be fure, my Enemies mutter'd their Suspicions of my being too deeply concern'd in Buckingham's Crimes, even in that of hastening my Father's Death; for the Commons were able to prove, that he apply'd Plaisters to my Father's Wrifts and Belly, after the Phylicians had declared that the Ague was going off, and that he made my Father take several Quantities of Drink twice from his own Hand, disapprov'd by the Phylicians, who therefore declin'd being further concern'd, till the faid Plaisters were remov'd, and the Duke left off tampering; that my Father found himself worse, being troubled with Drought, Raving, Fainting, and an intermitted Pulse; that my Father refus'd the Drink when the Duke offer'd it the third time; and that when the Phylicians told my Father, this new Impairment was the Effect of Cold, he reply'd, No, no, it is that which I had from Buckingham. But I affure you, dear GusTAVus, upon my Honour, they wrong'd me; for I knew not of any Delign against my Royal Father, and would never have conniv'd at fuch horrid Parricide: Nay, Buckingham deny'd it always, and folemnly protested he was innocent of that vile Charge, else I had left him to the Rage of the Commons.

This Year I transported Bishop LAUD from St. David's to Bath and Wells, by whose Advice all Advances were made in the Church, and whose Party increas'd apace: He also concurr'd with Buckingbam to advise me in Matters political (tho' neither of 'em were clever Politicians) especially to raise Money without a Parliament, whereby I continued the Spanish War, tho' with little Action, and great Damage to England. Nay, I began a War with France who were all the Friends of the Hugonots; but

fent Sir Belthazar Gerbier to Paris to cultivate a fecret Correspondence with the Queen of France, and for all Richlieu's Penetration, Gerbier brought from her one of her own Garters, with an exceeding rich Jewel, to this Knight of the Garter, which made him long to fee her Majesty, and too soon had the following, but not successful Occasion. My Wife brought over with her a great many Priests, and some of 'em so insolent as to affront my Bishops, to use a thousand various Tricks for making Profelites in England, according to their Engagement with the Pope, and to monopolize my Wife's Ear, fo that she was deaf to all Advice but what came from them: And Buckingham fearing her Interest with me might be strong enough to cross his Projects, took great Pains to lesien my Aftections towards her, and improv'd the Infolence of those Priests for that purpose, affuring me also, that her Father Confessor had forced from her all the Secrets of Court and State that the knew, which made me diffident and jealous of her Affections towards me, and to hide from her all I could; and in July this Year, 1526, to fend back her Priests to France, as a Pack of Incendiaries, having first inform'd Brother LEWIS, that I could no longer bear them, and that my Wife's taking their Part against me had bred much Unkindness between us. Upon this Buckingham prevail'd with me to fend him into France for composing of these Differences, tho' his real Motive was his Love to Lewis's Wife; but his Rival Richlieu prevail'd with Lewis to refuse him Entrance, which made him rage and fwear he would make his Pallage with an Army; as he had fwore before, that he would fee and speak with the French Queen, in spight of the Strength and Power of France!

Then was I too easily perswaded by him to forbid all Traffick with France as well as with Spain, having conniv'd at his feizing, as Lord Admiral, on the Goods and Ships of that Nation, on purpose to provoke them to make Reprifals, and so to have some pretence for a War; and at his exasperating the French Court, by entertaining all the Refugees of that Nation with the more Ceremony and Respect, as they were the more under their King's Displeasure; and especially he dispos'd me to assist the Hugonots, then grievoully persecuted by Richlieu, as he encourag'd them to hold out against all the Proposals of their King, and to fend over their Ambassadors

to solicite my Aid and Protection. He thought now he could please the Puritans,

III. Interview.

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the they lik'd the End, they hated the Means, [Council recapitulated all the Grievances, and viz. my raising Money without a Parliament, by requiring a Benevolence in Proportion to what the last Parliament intended, by Loans also and Martial Law, by billetting of Soldiers, making the Rich to pay, and preffing the Poor into the Service. On the contrary Land's Party lik'd the Means better than the End propos'd; and therefore two of their popular Preachers, Sibthorp and Manwaring, were employ'd to preach at Court, and elsewhere, that the King is not bound to observe the Laws concerning the Rights and Liberties of the People; that his fole royal Will and Command without a Parliament in imposing Loans, Taxes, &c. doth oblige their Consciences upon Pain of eternal Damnation; that the disobedient were guilty of Impiety and Disloyalty; that as a Parliament is not necessary for raising Money, so their flow Proceedings only ferve to retard the just Deligns of Princes, and to difgust them: And because Archbishop Abbot would not licence those Sermons, he was confin'd during my Pleasure to his unhealthy House at Ford.

Having thus prepar'd Matters, I gave Buckingham his ample Commission of General and Admiral, and with 100 Ships of War and Transport, and 7000 Land Forces, he set Sail for the Bay of Rochell in July 1627. I need not tell you, how wretchedly he conducted his Enterprize in the Isle of Rhee, was most shamefully repuls'd and beat aboard, return'd with the Fleet, but not with a third Part of his Men, and with as much Dishonour from abroad, as he found Disorder at home, the Prisons being cram'd with the eminent Gentry for not paying the Affessments, and Bail deny'd them, while an Army grub'd up the Country, and frightned the People with Enflavement: Nay, Buckingbam's scandalous Expedition was like to create a general Infurrection; for in the Loss most of the noble Families had a Son, or Brother, or Kinfman wanting, without any comfortable Circumstances of their Deaths. Mutinies happened in the Army and Navy for want of Pay, the Counties refused to billet Soldiers, which rigorous Execution of Martial Law, that rais'd an Afperity in most People, who generally wish'd Buckingham was destroy'd, and hop'd this Flux of Humours was the inevitable Way to it, as it never left pursuing him.

affured me the War could not be supported by the present Ways and Means of raising Money, but only by the Via Regia, the royal Way of a Parliament, and wish'd the Duke might appear the first Adviser to call a Parliament. My Necessities forced me to follow this Counsel; and having open'd the Prisons, I issued Writs for my third Parliament, which met on the 17th of March 1628. I open'd it with a Speech, forbidding them to spend Time in tedious Consultations about the chief End of their Meeting, viz. to raise Money for the War against Spain and France, and for maintaining their own former Advices, and the just Defence of the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; that if they refused, I must in Conscience use other Means, which God has put into my Hands; that they should not take this as a Threatning, for that I fcorn'd to threaten any but my Equals, but as an Admonition. Whereas the Puritan Members deny'd, that any Parliament ever advis'd the Spanish War (but only the Recovery of the Palatinate) which was begun without an open Declaration, as the French War was declared only by Buckingham's Manifesto; that they were both too much at one time, expensive and dishonourable, and ought not to be further profecuted; that none had endangered the Religion, Laws and Liberties of England, but my Evil Counfellors; that they did not understand those other means I hinted, nor how Conscience was concern'd therein, until it was explain'd by my Cafuists, that call'd themselves the Church; that the Parliament of England had never been used to such a Style before my Father's Reign, who was the first King that pretended to teach a Parliament, they being truly the Wisdom of the Nation; and that they who advis'd me in framing this Speech, were neither good Orators nor Politicians. This was their private Conversation; but when they met in Parliament, they made no fuch Remarks, nor offer'd to impeach Buckingham; nay, before they enter'd upon Grievances, the Commons brought in a Bill for five entire Subsidies Neproduced greater Inconveniencies; the Pressing mine contradicente, the greatest Tax ever given of Men opposed as illegal, which caused the to any former King at one Time, which, with the agreeable Manner of it, made me fend them a Message, that I would deny them no Liberties they ever enjoy'd. And they took me at my Word; for while the Bill was depending, they agreed to apply to me by Petition, that I would Upon this Emergency, I advised with the give my Subjects the Assurance of their Legal learned and judicious Sir Robert Cotton, Rights by Assentin Parliament, as I us'd to pass who in a long and elegant Speech before my other Acts. This was call'd the Petition of Right,

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containing especially, That no Loan or Tax might be levied but by Consent of Parliament: That no Man might be imprison'd but by legal Process, nor without shewing Cause, or allowing Bail: That Soldiers might not be quarter'd on People against their Wills: That no Commission be granted for executing the Martial Law in Time of Peace at Home. It was drawn by Sir Edward Coke, soon approv'd by the Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where Buckingham and his Creatures could not stifle it, his Lustre and Insuence being much impair'd; yet the Lords heard my Counsel against it, and the Commons Defence of it, which took up six Weeks.

The Commons Managers supported the Petition of Right by Magna Charta, and fix Acts of Parliament explanatory of it, with fuch Strength of Reason and Eloquence, that my Counsel could reply nothing, but submitted it to the Judgment of the Peers, when Lord SAY mov'd, that the Names for it and against it should be recorded, to let Posterity see the ignoble Betrayers of their Country's Rights; which dash'd my Party at once, and so it pass'd there too Nemine contradicente, but with the Addition of a Salvo, viz. With due Regard to leave entire that Sovereign Power wherewith your Majefly is trufted for the Good of the People. But when the Bill was return'd, the Salvo gave general Difgust to the Commons, and was rejected as unprecedented, Sovereign Power being no parliamentary Word, and as it render'd void the whole Intent of the Petition, which is built upon Magna Charta, that allows of no Sovereign: And after the Commons at a free Conference with the Lords had again argued the legal and rational Part of it, the Lords agreed to pass it without the Salvo.

During this Transaction I was very uneasy: Fain would I have had the Money, but hated the Condition, their Petition of Right: I often bid them make haste with the Bill of Subsidies; but they would make no more haste than good speed: I promis'd by Messages to maintain their Freedoms, and govern according to Statutes; but they had no Considence in my Royal Word, which, they said, is no Redress of Parliament, and that my Messages are not Law. I wrote to the Lords, that I could not yield not to imprison People at my Discretion without dissolving the Monarchy; but when my Letter was shewn to the Commons, Sir Thomas Wentworth said, it was not directed to them, and that nothing could satisfy the People but my passing the Petition. Therefore after it had pass'd the Lords on the 28th of May, I came to their House,

and sending for the Commons, I order'd the Petition to be read, and gave them from the Throne a folemn Affurance of performing the Contents of it in more general Terms. But neither would that satisfy the Commons, who, by the Motion of Sir Fohn Elliot, ordered a Remonstrance of all the Nation's Grievances to be drawn for me by the Committee for Subfidies, which made me horrible uneafy, and refolve to give them no other Answer; nay, to threaten to adjourn them on the 11th of June next. But instead of being mov'd, the Commons impeach'd Doctor Manwaring of his false Doctrine, and demanded Judgment against him, not being satisfy'd with the Submission he had made with Tears; and the Lords gave Sentence against him very severely, which vex'd Laud as much as Elliot's Remonstrance vex'd Buckingham, and produc'd another Message from me to the Commons, not to Squander their short Time upon new Business, to the Scandal of my Council of State.

This inflam'd the Commons to declare their Innocence from the Imputation of any undutiful Speeches, Sir Edward Coke telling them how in King EDWARD III. his Reign, the Parliament accused his own Son J-o HN of GAUNT, with the Lords Latimer and Nevil, and fent them all to the Tower, for misadvising the King, and at other Times have even modell'd the Royal Prerogative; why then, faid he, may we not name the Causes of all our Evils? Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not prosper us; I think the Duke of Bucks is the Cause of all our Miseries, the Grievance of Grievances, of which ave are bound in Honour and Duty to inform the King! Nay, Mr. Selden was for reviving the Impeachment; but while the Question was putting, I stopt it by ordering an Adjournment till to morrow the 7th of June 1628, when I came to the Parliament, and pass'd the Petition of Right, faying, Soit fait comme il est desire! Let it be done as is defired, to the universal Joy of my Subjects; upon which the Commons chearfully diffolv'd all their Committees of Enquiry, and contented themselves with only presenting to me on the 17th of June a short Remonstrance. of a few Grievances not contain'd in the Peti-

to the Lords, that I could not yield not to imprifon People at my Discretion without dissolving the Monarchy; but when my Letter was shewn to the Commons, Sir Thomas Wentworth said, it was not directed to them, and that nothing could satisfy the People but my passing the Petition. Therefore after it had pass'd the Lords on the 28th of May, I came to their House,

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towards the Destruction of my Monarchy: And any Power either to make or declare a Law withfeeing I was like to purchase all Parliamentary Aids at so dear a Price, no wonder I began to meditate other Ways and Means of Supporting my Crown and Dignity. Nor were the Commons behind in flewing their Stubbornness, especially in the Affair of Tonnage and Poundage; for they defired me to know that those Customs were granted not from Duty, but as the free Gift of the Commons, nor always for Life; that they intended to frame a Grant much for my Honour, the Security of the Subject, and the Prosperity of Trade; but being disabled by the Shortness of the Time limited for this Seffion, there was no Course left them without Breach of Duty to their King and Country, fave only to make this Declaration, That the receiving Tonnage and Poundage, and other Impositions not granted by Parliament, is a Breach of the fundamental Liberties of this Kingdom, and contrary to your Majesty's royal Answer to the

Petition of Right.

But the Bill of Subfidies being past both Houses, I came suddenly to the House of Lords on the 26th of June 1628, sent down immediately for the Commons, while their Declaration was ingross'd, and reading in the House, and so prevented the Delivery of it, by proroguing the Parliament to the 20th of October following, with a Speech; wherein I faid, that tho' I must avow I owe the Account of my Actions to God alone, I would yet tell them, that the Reason of this my sudden Motion was, not only the unacceptable Remonstrance lately given me, which no wife Man can justify, but another now a preparing for me, to take from me the Profit of Tonnage and Poundage, alledging I have given up my Right to it by my Answer to their Petition of Right: That I was very averse to such Deeds to which I must give an harsh Answer; and to obviate the false Con-Aructions of the Commons of what I granted in the Petition, I thought fit to declare, my true Intent was only to secure the Liberties of my Subjects from illegal Encroachments, and to remove all Cause of Complaint for Time to come, which I then again promis'd on the Word of a King; but that it was not to part with Tonnage and Poundage, a Tax I cannot want, and could never be design'd by them to ask at the hammering of their Petition, when both Houses profess'd it was no ways to trench upon my Prerogative. I commanded them all to take notice of what I said, especially the Judges; for, faid I, to you only, under me, belongs the Interpretation of the Lagus; for none of the Houses of Parliament, either joint or separate | Parliament, went to Portsmouth in order to com-

Petition of Right, which I thought the first step (what new Dostrine soever may be raised) bave out my Consent.

> My Enemies, you may believe, commented much upon my Speech in their feveral Counties, incenfing the People with a deep Sense of their Grievances, and how no King of England before my Father did thus treat the Parliament, calling them ignorant Fools at the beginning of the Selfions, and now that no wife Man can juftify their Conduct; that yet they were much fitter to represent the State of the Kingdom than Buckingham, and his vile Crew at Court, who were not able to deny any one thing of the Remonstrance, which justify'd it felf, however unacceptable it was: That I could not prove any former King ever claim'd this Tax by any other Right than the free Grant of the Parliament; and that I could not deny my Father's Encroachment, by raising the said Customs to their present Height, which no former King ever attempted; nor that I continue to take these heightned Customs without an A& of Parliament: That therefore my Charge of their false Constructions was a false Charge, and that in due time they would make me fenfible, the Parliament had as much Authority to make and declare a Law, as I could pretend to.

Thus my third Parliament was prorogued.

During this last Session, Bucking bam perform'd his Promife to the Rechellers, which he made when he left the Isle of Rhee, by fending his Brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, with a Fleet to relieve Rochell, then shut up by the French Fleet on the 17th of April; but the Earl did them no Service, tho' they importun'd him with Tears; and instead of fighting the French Fleet when Wind and Water served, he hoifted Sail and return'd to England, pretending that the relieving of Rochell was impossible. This also help'd to inflame the Parliament, and the Body of my Subjects were at that time difpos'd to a Revolt; for when on the 13th of June one Dr. Lamb, a Quack, was murder'd in the open Street by the London Mob, being miftaken for a Dependant of Buckingham's, none of the Citizens would help me to discover the Murderers, but roar'd out Night and Day thro' the Streets in a tumultuous manner,

Let Charles and George do what they can, The Duke shall die like Doctor Lamb.

Which was ominous; for, to redeem Denbigh's Miscarriage, Buckingbam, during the Recess of mand the Fleet in Person for the Relief of of my good Agreement with the Parliament Rochell, and there on the 23d of August was stab'd by one Lieutenant Felton, whom Buckingbam had among many others disoblig'd, and who thought he had done no Evil, but had ferved God and his Country, in killing one that by the Commons was declar'd to be the Caufe and Spring of all the Kingdom's Grievances, until he was try'd, when he became penitent before he was hang'd. Nay, the Countess his Mother was not surpriz'd nor disturb'd at the News, having look'd for it about fix Months, from the Time the Officer in the Wardrobe at Windfor carried his Father Sir George Villiers's Message to him (receiv'd in a Vision or Apparition) with fuch Credentials as terrify'd the Duke and her too. I receiv'd the News while at Prayers with no feeming Concern, till I retir'd to my Chamber to lament his sudden Death; but few believ'd me fincere; and it created a universal Joy, as for a gracious Dispensation of Providence; particularly my Wife was ready to fing Te Deum, and I had no real Cause of Sorrow, beginning then to be convinc'd of my Weakness, in liftning more to him than to the faithful Advice of my Three first Parliaments. But the News did not a little disturb Bishop Laud and Bishop Neal, which arriv'd while they were confectating Dr. Montagu as Bishop of Chichester.

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As for the Rochellers, the Earl of Lindfay purfu'd the Expedition, tho' in vain, not being able to force the Barricadoes; and if he had forced his Way, yet the Provisions he brought for them were all tainted. Oh the wretched Condition of that brave People ! Truffing to Buckingham, they had liv'd long upon Horses, Hides, Leather, Dogs and Cats; most of 'em died by Famine, and many carried their Coffins to the Church-yards, wherein they lay down and died, having loft during the Blockade 13000 Men out of 18000, and became a Sacrifice to Richlieu's Revenge, for rejecting his good Proposals, in case they would have join'd the French against Buckingham, when in the most unjustly upon me, as if I had ruin'd the Reformed Churches of France, who in their Extremity had wrote for my Aid with their Tears and Blood.

The Puritans now began to hope I would come into their Measures, the grand Obstacle being removed, but they were mistaken, for I much hated them and their Way; and there-

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as what would prevent or blaff their ambitious or covetous Deligns, as the Treasurer Lord Weston, the Keeper Coventry, the Earls of Manchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Montgomery, Dorset, Carlisle, Holland, with the two Secretaries Cook and Carleton, and a Set of Judges to my Mind, that could prove the Court's Pleasure to be good Law upon any Emergency, or overrule the Matter in Debate in Favour of the Crown. But the none of them succeeded Buckingham as a Favorite, Dr. Laud was in my highest Esteem, whom I had translated to be Bishop of London on the 15th of July this Year 1628, who had advis'd the Promotion of Dr. Montagu, and to pardon Dr. Manwaring, which was feal'd with a fit Rectory, whereby the Puritans were provok'd to dispute my enhancing the Rates of Tonnage and Poundage to almost treble what they were before; tho I smartly punish'd those that refus'd Payment, by feizing their Goods and by Imprisonment, having also further prorogued the Parliament to the 23d of January 1623.

When they met, my Speech did not begin with, The Times are for Action, &c. as formerly, having privately made Peace with France; nor did I demand Supplies; but that the Commons would without Loss of Time pass the Bill to give me Tonnage and Poundage, as my Ancestors enjoy'd it; or that they would begin where they left off, which in their Way they did: For they began with Grievances, and resolv'd to redress them before they pass'd any other Bill, with this folemn Vow, viz. We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest and avow for Truth the Sense of the Articles of Religion establish'd by Parliament 13th of Eliz. which by the publick Acts of our Church of England, and by the general and current Exposition of the Writers of our Church, have been deliver'd unto us: And we reject the Sense of the Jesuites and Arminians, and of all others that differ from us.

An odd Preliminary!

Sir John Elliot, my implacable Enemy, ha-Isle of Rhee; tho' the Reproach of all fell rangued the Commons against Dr. Neal Bishop of Winton, for promoting Arminianism, and against the Lord Treasurer Weston (a Papist) in whose Person (he said) all Evil is contracted for building upon the late Buckingham's Foundation, and succeeding to be the Head of the malignant Party, the Papists, Fesuites and Priests deriving from him their Protection, &c. and that these Favorites advise the King to break fore continued to be influenc'd by such as Buck- Parliaments, for fear the Parliament should ingbam had raifed, and who were also afraid break them, &c. But the Speaker, Sir John Finch,

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a Question about these Things when moved by the House, because I had forbid him. At this Time the Printers and Booksellers of London complain'd by Petition to the Commons, that Dr. Laud Bishop of London had monopoliz'd the licenfing of Books, and had reftrain'd all Books against Popery and Arminianism, while he allow'd the contrary to be printed: And the House having nothing to do, frequently adjourn'd, until the 2d of March, when the Commons urged the Speaker to put Elliot's Question about Grievances in Church and State; who reply'd, I have a Command from the King to adjourn the House till the 10th Instant, and to put no Question: And the Speaker endeavouring to go out, was detain'd till the following Protestation was made, viz. That whoever should introduce Innovations in Religion, especially Popery or Arminianism; and whoever should advise the taking of Tonnage and Poundage not granted by Parliament, or that should pay the same, should be accounted Enemies to the Kingdom. I knowing what they did, sent for the Serjeant of the House; but he was lock'd in. Then I fent the Black-Rod with a Message; but he was deny'd Entrance, till the Protestation was read, when the House adjourn'd themselves in Confusion to a certain Day; and the next Day Warrants were directed from the Privy-Council for feizing the riotous Members of the Commons, Sir John Elliot, William Coriton, Benjamin Valentin, Denzil Hollis, John Selden, Walter Long, William Stroud, Sir Miles Hobart, and Sir Peter Hayman. The first four appeared, and refusing to answer there for what was faid or done in the House of Commons, were committed close Prisoners in the Tower: And on the 10th of March, 1628-9, I came to the House of Lords, and without passing one A& this Session, and without fending for the Commons, I declared that the feditious and undutiful Carriage of the Vipers, the Commons, was the Cause of my dissolving this Parliament.

When my third Parliament was disfolved, by the Advice of Lord Weston the Treasurer, I feiz'd the rest of those litigious Members, and issued a Proclamation in April 1629, declaring it Presumption in any to prescribe to me the time for calling a Parliament. Thus, by inhibiting Men to speak of another Parliament, the better and greater Part of my Subjects believ'd I really defign'd to alter the Form of Government both in Church and State; nay, my Servants being now freed from the Fear of a Parliament, and being above ordinary Justice, broke loose, think-

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(the Uncle of Chancellor Finch) would not put Punishment; and acted unguardedly, without any View to a future Reckoning, and exasperated the Puritans by cherishing the Irish and Scots Papists, particularly the Marquess of Huntley, and others, that were declar'd Rebels in Scotland. And having in May 1629 proclaim'd Peace with France, without comprehending the Reformed, which prov'd their Ruin, I aveng'd my felf of the litigious Members in Custody, by obtaining the Judges Resolutions for their Profecution, exhibited Informations against them in the Star-Chamber for their undutiful Speeches and Actions in the late Parliament, trifled with them on purpose to vex them; refus'd their Bail, unless they would give Security for their good Behavior, which they fcorn'd; and upon another Information against them in the King's-Bench, they pleaded against the Jurisdiction of that Court, the supposed Offence having been committed in Parliament. But the Court overrul'd their Plea, and adjudged them to be imprison'd during the King's Pleasure: Yet I offer'd to release them on their Submission; but they obstinately refus'd it, and Sir John Elliot, with some others of 'em, died in close Prison, not having been allow'd Books, Pen, Ink and Paper, nor the Comforts of Life, nor the Means of Health, nor the Means of Grace, nor their Wives and Ministers to visit them in Sickness; whereby they were the more lamented as Martyrs for the Rights and Liberties of England.

> Prospering thus in my domestick War, having taken more Prisoners (I mean Parliamentmen and Constables of Hertfordsbire ) in it, than my Father and I ever took in all our foreign Wars for the Palatinate, I renew'd the old and unsuccessful Way of endeavouring to recover my Brother-in-law's Country by Ambassadors, having fent first Sir Robert Anstrutber to the Emperor on the 10th of July 1629, but in vain; and I fent Sir Harry Vane to you, my dear Gustavus, upon your invading Germany, when you promis'd to restore the Palts-grave, if I would affift you against the Emperor. You may remember I fent the Marquess of Hamilton with 6000 Men to your Afliftance, who fuffer'd much the same Fate with Mansfield's Army, and moulder'd away to the Complement only of two Regiments, of which you took upon you to name the Officers, Anno 1630.

This Year, on the 29th of May, was born my fecond Son CHARLES (my first Son Charles- Fames having died the same Day he was born, vizing that no Fault, which was like to find no the 18th of March 1628) who after many

Troubles

Troubles became my Successor in the Throne; Church of Rome; and next to her he was my at whose Birth a bright Star appear'd at Noonday, and on the 27th of June he was baptiz'd by Bishop Laud at St. Fames's Palace. Now my Wife began to have much the Ascendant over me from the Death of Buckingham, who would admit of no Rival, being jealous that her Interest with me might cross his Designs; and therefore foon brought himself to an Habit of Neglect, and even of Rudeness towards her; infulted and threatned her for once neglecting to visit his Mother, faying, she should repent it, and that there had been Queens of England who had loft their Heads; and during his Life she had no Influence over me in State Affairs. But now he is gone, my Wife well knowing that I lov'd her Person exceedingly (for she was exceeding charming and lovely ) talk'd with me of State Affairs with more Openness, improv'd her Influence over me every Day, and by a thousand Decencies and Female Arts she made me a most uxorious Husband; not forbearing to advise with her in Matters above her Capacity, of which I had Cause afterwards to repent; for being of a French Education, she thought nothing above her Reach, and having also the Assistance of her Priests ( who had been restor'd to her by the Peace) she would talk mighty fmartly upon any Subject, especially on what concern'd her two grand Defigns, the one to restore the Romish Religion in England, for which she was very zealous; and the other to rescue me and herself from the limited Government of England, which to her feem'd no better than Servitude, being full of that Spirit which warms the Blood of absolute Monarchs: Therefore the would not be advis'd to use her Authority with Art; and not regarding the captious Temper and haughty Disposition of a People Free-born, the follow'd her Zeal for Popery in a more lofty Manner than fuited those ticklish Times, avowedly kept about her a Nuncio of the Pope's, and maintain'd a close Correspondence with the Pepifo Lords, which the Puritans call'd a Conspiracy; stood up for every thing with both Authority and Heat, ( which made her Priests too bold and indiscreet) and had frequent warm Debates with the more zealous Protestants, wherein I gave her Liberty, was much pleas'd to hear her talk, and fometimes supported her; which made the Puritans falfely asperse me with being a secret Papist, as they also aspers'd Bishop Land, because he was very observant to my Wife, join'd with her in opposing the Puritans of all forts, and the not in re-establishing of Pepery, yet in a

chief Favorite, prevailing with me this Year to curb the Infolence of puritanical Scriblers, particularly of one Dr. Leighton, a Scotsman, for his Book call'd an Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea against Prelacy; who refusing to make Submission, had his Ears cut off, and his Nose thit on the Pillory; tho' this Severity did me no Service, and the Bishop had done wifer to have employ'd a clever Pen against him, Leighton being an ingenious Gentleman, whose Son, I have heard, became the Arch-bishop of Glosgew after the Restoration of my Family.

At last, on the 27th of November 1630, I proclaim'd Peace with Spain without Confent of Parliament, (whereby the Caufe of the Palatinate was deferted, and left to hopeless Treaties) being very weary of my two foreign Wars, which prov'd altogether unfuccessful, and for which all the World blam'd me, tho' none durft tell me so much till Buckingham died, yet was now convinc'd of it, by increasing my Debts, stopping my People's free Commerce, and turning my Subjects malecontent; for befides my Father's heavy Debt of 12000001. Sterling, I had contracted by the War 400000 %. more.

And thus tho' I obey'd not my royal Father's Advice on his Death-bed with respect to the Frequency and Freedom of Parliaments, I follow'd his Example with respect especially to Spain. Indeed Queen ELIZABETH's Policy directed her to wage War with Spain for ever, and to make frequent Depredations at Sea upon that haughty Nation, to maintain a close Correspondence with all the Enemies of the House of Austria, the GRAND TURK not excepted; to affift France, to favour the Protestants in Germany; and to patronize the Infant Republick of the seven united Netherlandish Provinces, as the Out-works of England, whereby the fecur'd herself against foreign Enemies, exercis'd her People in the Use of Arms by Sea and Land, and gave them no Leifure to breed inward Distempers: But my Father went into a quite different Policy both at home and abroad, which tho' it tended not to his Honour, it increas'd the Nation's Wealth, by a most gainful Trade with Spain. And now from my opening of this Trade to the Beginning of my Wars with the long Parliament, the English Nation increas'd their Wealth to that monstrous Affluence, as if the Riches of the Spanish AMERICA were dig'd out by their Order; and consequently they forgot the Exercife of warlike Arms, fell into those Vices

and Wealth, and becoming delicious and effeminate, (except a few that went into the German Wars) they endeavour'd only by Commerce to

advance the Honour of England.

The English becoming thus more capable to be govern'd without a Parliament, and still more able to answer my Demands, I firmly refolv'd against being ever again reduc'd to supplicate an House of Commons for a Subfidy, nor to purchase a little Money of 'em at the Price of my facred Royal Prerogative, or of the Safety of my Favorites and Ministers: For which Cause I refolv'd to live in Peace with all foreign Powers, and thought that furely whatever Money I wanted only for the Support of my Dignity at Home, I might raise it without a Parliament; hoping, that by not summoning one any more, its pretended Authority would infenfibly be extinguish'd, and the People would by degrees become easy under my Government; whereby I should be deliver'd from the illustrious Slavery of a British King, and like other European Monarchs might rule at my Soveraign Will and Pleafure, prevent all Enquiries into Grievances, tame the Puritans, to whom I was irreconcilable by an hereditary Aversion; and so advance my beloved Uniformity in Religion, as the best Security of the State, which my Treasurer Weston did often inculcate, being juftly afraid of the Parliament's calling him to Account.

After the Dissolution of the last Parliament, and my Declaration against calling another, my Courtiers employ'd many Clergy-men to preach up my Title and Right to raife Money without a Parliament for the Good of the Publick, whose Party in the Church I did naturally espouse; nay, and obtain'd of the Judges to recommend fuch Opinions in their Circuits to the People: And then I employ'd my Ministers to contrive new Taxes, and increase the old ones (whereby my yearly Revenue was risled from 500000 l. to 800000 l. Sterling ) to Supply the Want of Laws by Acts of State; and befiles Tonnage and Pound ge raised higher, obsolete Liws were reviv'd and rigorously executed, particularly that of Knighthood, whereby I railed a vast Sum of Money, not only from Men of Quality, but of any reasonable Condition, who all paid for being Knighted, or fin'd for not being Knighted. My Politicians ham mered unjust Projects of all kinds, many ridithe Envy and Reproach of which fell upon me, while other Men reap'd the Profit; for I never saw the hundredth Part of it.

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For the Support of these Ways and Means. the Protection of my Agents, and the Suppression of all bold Oppofers, I enlarged vaftly the Jurisdiction of the Judges of the Council Table and the Star-Chamber, who held ( as Thucydides said of the Athenians ) for honourable that which pleas'd, and for just that which profited; and, being the fame Persons in several Rooms, grew both a Court of Law to determine Right, and a Court of Revenue for my Treasury, the Council-Table by Proclamations enjoining what the Law enjoin'd not, and prohibiting what the Law did not prohibite, while the Stir-Chamber censur'd all Disobedience to those Proclamations by very heavy Fines and Imprisonment; so that any Disrespect to any Acts of State, or to the Persons of Statesmen, was in no time more Penal; and most wise Men thought their Foundations of Right never more in Dan-

ger to be destroy'd. Anno 1631, I liv'd in much Ease and Splendor, while I was pleas'd with Bishop Laud's Considerations about Church Government, which tended to the Ruin of the Puritans, and the Increase of his Party; and with his proceeding fmartly against many of the University of Oxon (of which he had been Chancellor ever fince the Death of William Earl of Pembroke on the 10th of April last Year) for adhering strictly to Calvinism, and warmly opposing drminianism, whereby leveral were expell'd without hope of Remedy and Relief at Law, and their Places fill'd by Laud's Creatures. Not regarding the Mutterings of the Puritans, I republish'd the Book of Sports and Pastimes on Sundays, which none of the Judges offer'd to hinder the People from, except Judge Richardson, who, upon Bishop Laud's Complaint, was check'd for it. On the 4th of November this Year my dear Daughter. MARY was born, who became Princess of O-RANGE, and Mother of my glorious Grandson King WILLIAM, so well known in these happy Shades: And this Year, by Bishop Laud's Advice and my Wife's too, I decoy'd over to my Service two of my greatest Enemies, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Mr. Noy the Lawyer, whom I made my Attorney General; but Wentworth, in Opposition to Lord Saville, would be made Lord President of the North of England, a great haughty Man, very learned, naturally eloquent, and exceeding brave, who ffriin'd his Jurisdiction so high, that it provok'd all Men, and occasion'd a general Complaint: But these two were my faithful Servants, and Bishop Land's intimate Friends. And having it in my Power, I got in Easter Term, 1632, the City of

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which Dr. Lamb was murder'd, and kept that rebellious City in due Decorum and Reverence

to my Government.

But while I liv'd in profound Peace, you was at the Head of an Army marching in the high Places of the Field over all the German Empire, triumphing in a Train of glorious Vic-tories, until your last Minute of Time, on the 6th of November 1632, in the famous Battle of Lutzen, you conquer'd and died. Soon after, on the 29th of November, my Brother-in-law the King of Bohemia followed you into the Regions of the Dead, and I was like to have follow'd you both, by falling ill of the Small Pox on the 2d of December. After I recovered, I made the Treasurer Lord Weston Earl of Portland, and the Lord President of the North the Lord Wentworth, and foon after fent him as Lord Deputy of Ireland, in both which Stations he remain'd until his Impeachment, and then I prepared for my Progress into ScotlAND.

I come now, my dear Gustavus, to relate

what happened to me after your Demise.

However my People might grumble at my Administration, I was not yet hated by them; but upon all Occasions they discover'd a profound Respect and Affection for my Person. Therefore on the 13th of May leaving London in Safety, Peace and Plenty, fucking of the Abundance of the Seas, I arriv'd at Edinburgh the 15th of June 1633. On the Road thro' England I was attended by a Train of the greatest Nability at their own Charge, which made the Pomp of my Court in all respects proportionable to the Glory of the greatest King; nay, between London and Edinburgh there was a continued Feast prepared for me, and my Retinue, by all Persons of Quality and Condition that liv'd near the Road, with the greatest Magni ficence; particularly the Earl of New-Caftle went to the highest Excess at his House in Notting ban shire; so that no King upon Earth ever had greater Demonstrations of his Subjects Love and Loyalty, than I now had of my English.

Nor were my Scots behind them in Magnificence and Layalty; for having on the Borders discharg'd my English Office-Bearers and Servants, I was attended by those of Sotland with equal Splendor and Decency, and I appear'd with no less Luftre at Hay Roodhouse than at Whitehall; nay, the whole Behaviour of that Nation towards the English was as generous

and obliging as could be expected.

June, and met the Parliament on the 20th, who, lick Debates, in which, thro' want of Temper,

London fin'd for the Riot in June 1628, in after the great Solemnity of Riding in their Robes and splendid Equipage, soon prepared those Acts that were to receive the Touch of the Royal Scepter. The Parliament of Scotland confisted but of one House, the Lords and Commons, as the greater and lesser Barons, being all equally Lords of Parliament, affembled together, tho' not promiscuous, but in different Sears or Benches, with very visible Marks of Distinction between the Nobility, and the lesser Barons or Knights of the Shires, and the Burgefses or Commissioners from Royal Boroughs, with the Lord High Chancellor as their Speaker, above whose Head the Throne was erected, where the King fat always either in Person, or by his High Commissioner or Representative (who therefore received royal Homage, and could perform royal Acts to the Extent of his Commission) with his chief Ministers and Servants round the Throne, but could not meddle in their Debates, which were often too free, and

wholly unrestrain'd by his Presence.

But my principal End in this Progress was to profecute my Father's Delign of establishing in Scotland the Usages of the Church of England, and an exact Uniformity in Worship; for which end I brought with me Bishop Laud, who preach'd on the Benefit of Conformity to the reverend Ceremonies; and the People of Scotland were then so complaisant, that if I had boldly press'd it, I should have got them esta-blish'd by an A&; but was diverted by my Friends, and advis'd rather to order a new Liturgy and Canons for the Church of Scotland, with a few defirable Alterations, that might not hinder the intended Uniformity, than to impose those of England, the Body of the People being jealous of losing their national Independency, and of being made a Province of England, and would think the English Liturgy the Prelude of it. Therefore I gave private Orders to Bishop Lind, and a select number of Scots Bishops, to frame the said Liturgy and Canons, erected the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, redeem'd the Scots Bisheps from Contempt by making. them considerable in the State, made Archbithop Spotswood the Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and nine other Bisheps Privy Counsellors, and extraordinary Lords of Seffion; tho' it appear'd afterwards, that this Promotion ferv'd no good End, and expos'd them to the Envy of the Nobility, and eminent Gentry (who thought themselves better qualify'd for those Posts than Spiritual Men) Besides, by their Number and In this Pomp was I crown'd on the 18th of close Attendance they over-balanc'd many pubor want of Breeding, they were often indecent to- Book call'd Hiftrio-Maftin; but the Star-Chamwas his Opinion, that nothing more tended to the Church's Benefit than fuch Promotions; which

Rock he fplit upon at laft. To the visite

Yet I left Scotland in profound Peace, and in the End of August 1633 arriv'd fafe at Greenwich, where my WIFE kept her Court, when the agreeable News came of Archbishop Abbot's Death, whose Place I supply'd immediately with Bishop Laur; and now Archbishop LA u D advis'd me to create Dr. Juxon the Bishop of London; upon which the Laudean Clergy were animated to write and preach against the Church Puritans, as the Followers of Calvin, the Underminers of the Church, deligning to deftroy the Hierarchy, and to fet up the Discipline of Geneva; which was a falle Charge in general, many of 'em, pious and learned, having frictly adher'd to the Government, Worship and Discipline of the Church in the worst of Times, and were my fellow Sufferers: On the other hand, these being zealous for Cilvinism, as contained in the do Grinal Articles of the Church of England, call'd the Landeans ARMINIANS, and who by their Innovations were returning post-haste to Rome; which was also a false Charge in general, many of 'em having wrote learnedly against Popery, as Laud himself, and Chillingworth particularly; only they were not averfe to all the Ulages of Rome, which they thought very folemn and decent, and would have gladly coalesced with her, if some Preliminaries had been adjusted, rather than with the Followers of Luther and Calvin, whose Doctrines and Usages they abhorr'd long before the Name of Arminius was known in England.

I now revived my Declaration for Sports and Pastimes on Sundays, and order'd it to be read in Churches after Morning Service, which infany of the precise Puritan Parsons would not do, and were therefore ejected; but the more cunning Part of em read my Declaration, and immediately after it they read the 4th Commandment, which they call'd God's Declaration, and preach'd upon it, warmly charging the People to keep Holy the Lord's Day, as the Christian Sabbath, to leave the May-pole on Sunday Afternoon, and attend divine Service in Church. While the Puritans were thus diffress'd, I was gaining the Populace by Sports and Pattimes, and enjoying all the Pleasures of

wards the Nobility, who refolv'd to refent it in ber cenfur'd him to be expell'd Oxford and Lindue Time. However, Bishop Laud bore the colns-Inn, disabled to profess the Law, to stand Blame, as they knew he govern'd me, and that it twice on the Pillory, where he had his Ears cut off, fin'd in 5000 Pounds, and made a Prisoner for Life. But the four Inns of Court, to flew their Detestation of Pryn's Book, presented me with a Masque at Whitehall, and congratulated me upon the Birth of my third Son JAMES, born on the 14th of October 1633, and baptiz'd by Archbishop Land, who succeeded my Son CHARLES in the Throne, till his Nephew and Son-in-law the Prince of ORANGE, my gallant Grandson, turn'd him out, as you have

heard, no doubt, in Flyfium.

The most learned Hollander, Hugo GRO-Tius, to conciliate the Favour of his Country (from which he had flown to escape the Gallows, for conspiring, with Barnavelt, the overturning of the Government at the Head of the Arminian Faction) having writ a Book call'd Mare Liberum, the open Sea, against my Title to the Soveraignty of the British Seas; the most learned Englishman JOHN SELDEN refuted him, in his Book call'd Mare Claufum, the fout Sea; wherein he maintain'd my Soveraignty of the Seas, and fhew'd how my Predecesfors ever claim'd it. This afforded a very plaufible Ground of raising Money, a Spring and Magazine without Bottom, an everlatting Supply, now much wanted; for by the Advice of my general Attorney Noy, I found that the Kingdom being in great Danger by Pyrates, of which, he faid, the King was the fole Judge, was a fufficient Reason for framing a Writ in Form of a Law, directed to the Sheriff of every County in England, To provide a Ship of War for the King's Service, and to send it amply fitted by such a Day to fuch a Place: But with this Writ to fend the Sheriff Instructions, that, instead of a Ship, He should levy upon his County Such a Sum of Money, to be paid by the dwelling Houses of the County, and return the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty's Use, with Directions how he should proceed against such as refused Payment. Hence that Tax was call'd Ship-Money, by which I got about 200000 l. every Year neat into my own Coffers. Noy liv'd not to fee his Advice much executed, the Writs being fent this Year, 1634, only to Sea-Ports and Maritime Counties, but next Year to all the Towns and Counties of

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Lord Wentworth, my Lientenant of Ireland, had begun to alter the State of that Kingdom a peaceful Court in Balls, Malquerades, Plays, for my Service, and got the Irifo Convocation this rees. Fre against which one William Pryn, Year to receive the English Articles of Religion. now bent upon meliorating the Church of Eng. At his Defire I made Manwaring the Bishop of land, and reforming her from the Abuses, he thought, had crept in by the Reformation from Popery; and with my full Consent order'd the Thop of London, the Lord Treasurer about Christrepairing and beautifying of Churches and Chancels, to remove the Communion Table from the Body of the Church, where it us'd to stand, and to fix it at the East End, and enclose it with a Rail, calling it an Altar; to oblige all Persons to come up to those Rails, and there kneeling to receive the Lord's Supper; to enjoin Adoration in the Act of receiving, constantly to use the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, constantly to wear the Surplice in Divine Service; the folemn Confectation of Churches, the Bowing towards the Altar, and several other things, some of which had been used before in some Cathedrals and royal Chappels, but not in Parish Churches, where they were warmly opposed as Popish Innovations. New Books were written for and against this new Practice with the same Earnestness and Contention for Victory, as if the Life of Christianity had been at stake; whereby a Schism happened in the Church, the Laudeans prevailing at Court; but the moderate Party (as they were call'd) prevail'd most with the People, who had been disgusted by the Laudeans haughty Conduct of late, and by their Ingratitude to their very Patrons, that had therefore much withdrawn their Kindnels from such proud Priests. Archbishop Laud this Year, 1634, order'd all the People of the Dutch, French, German and Walloon Churches, that were Natives of England, to conform to the English Church in their respective Parishes; and tho' they pleaded Possession of their Privilege of ferving God in their own way even before the Persecution of Alva, also insisted on Queen Elizabeth's Grant, and my Father's too, with my royal Word, and their own Merit by cultivating the Manufactures; yet the Thunder of the Laws and Canons frightned Thousands of their Families abroad, particularly into Holland, to the great Detriment of the English Trade and Manufactures. Nor did he neglect the two Universities; for he claim'd a Right of visiting them as Metropolitan, and not by Commission from me; and when it was brought to a Trial, I consented to let him gain the Cause against me and the Universities, where he made what Alterations he could; and at Oxford gave a magnificent academical Entertainment to me and my Wife, my Nephews the Elector Palatine and his Brother Prince Rupert, with many Lords and Ladies. When his Rival the Treafurer Portland died, I put that Office in Commillion, and made him the first Commissioner: III Intenviego.

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St. Davids; and when he was tir'd in the Treafury, he prevailed with me to make fuxon, Bimass 1635; unhappily believing, he had thus provided a ftrong Support for the Church, and was now above leffening his Rigour and Severity towards Men of all Ranks, continued his natural Sharpness of Speech and zealous Commotions, being unable to brook a Contradiction in any Debate, no not in Council, where he feldom shew'd the Patience and Temper necessary. But the Promotion of Juxon inflam'd more Men than were angry before, open'd Peoples Mouths against Laud, as the Architect of this new Fabrick, and made many Enemies to the Church, which the Nobility now look'd upon as the Gulph to fwallow all the great Offices.

Mean while, to recompence the Damage the Crown had fustain'd by the Sale of old Crown Lands, by Grants and Penfions, I revived and inlarged the old Forest Laws, hoping thereby to reclaim a vast deal of Land, or to have impos'd great Fines, and fettled large annual Rents by way of Contract for the Crown; which Pretention the County of Effex bought off for 300000 l. But the other Counties delay'd, till my Troubles deliver'd them from that Burden, which lighted heaviest on the Nobility and great Gentry, who thought themselves above common Oppressions, and therefore meditated Revenge. I proposed also to turn all the Land between Richmond and Hampton-Court into a Park, near ten Miles about, for my red and fallow Deer, and began to build the Wall, before People confented to part with their Land and Common; but desisted, because of the universal Clamour against it, People fearing it as a Precedent for all the Kingdom, and that no Man's Inheritance could be fafe. To countenance the Writs for Ship-Money, I rigg'd out, Anno 1635, two great Fleets, the one of 40 Men of War under the Earl of Lindsey, and the other of 20 under Esfex, to maintain my Dominion of the narrow Seas. I erected some Offices to raise Money, as by licenfing People to travel, Forfeitures for prophane Swearing and Curfing, or forexcessive Carriages on the High-way, to confirm defective Titles to Estates held of the Crown &c. Also I restrain'd the Increase of Hackney Coaches, which did not ply thro London Streets till the first Year of my Reign; and forbid the Refort of the Nobility and Gentry to London, upon pretence of impoverishing the Country, and increasing the Plague in the City; tho' the true Reason was their caballing against my Adminifration.

were profecuted for disobeying this Att of State. fented to me the Scots CANONS, to which I Hearing of one THOMAS PARR in Shropshire, gave my royal Approbation, and without any aged 152 Years, born in the Reign of King Edward IVth, I fent for him to London, where he throughout Scotland by Proclamation. The most dy'd the 15th of November 1635. And on the 28th of December my second Daughter ELI-ZABETH was born, who at fifteen Years of were accountable; but some more zealous Age came into these happy Regions, from the Ifle of Wight, by the ill Treatment of the RUMP. Northumberland with 60 Men of War, who deftroy'd a Fleet of Dutch Herring-Buffes, and

While I liv'd at Ease and in great Splendor, the Archbishop took care to execute the Laws for Uniformity, and obtain'd the Judges Opinion in behalf of the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts, which I publish'd: I ordered the Starchamber to punish Bastwick the Physician, and Burton the Parlon, for their Books against my same manner with Pryn; but Lilburn and o-

yearly Tribute for their Fishing.

thers were pillory'd and whipt; nay, one of the fequefter'd, which was not for my Honour. These terrible Doings, and the Thunder of Laud's Canons, with the Severity of the Star chamber, that made Men Offenders for a Word, convicted People without legal Evidence, and rigoroufly

punish'd every Offender, so terrify'd the diffenting PURITANS (whose Number had much increas'd fince the Death of Archbishop Abbot) that, expecting nor Mercy nor Justice, they were daily bound for America, not in small Parcels, but in Shoals, especially for New England, where

the Ecclefiaftical Canons could not play upon them, till I was advis'd, in April 1637, to stop their Motion by an Order of Council; because Transportations for above 20 Years last past.

In SCOTLAND an High Commission Court being fet up, the Bishops made the People mighty uneafy; they suppress'd the weekly Meetings of the Ministers for expounding Scripture, as Con-Doctrine, and encourag'd the Arminians; which occasion'd as fierce Brawls there as in England; preach'd up, like true Laudeans, my SACRED ROYAL PREROGATIVE, my Soveraign Headship of the Church, and the Danger of eternal Damnation to all the disobedient, in order to prepare the People for the new Canons and Liturgy: And Anno 1636, Archbishop Land, with me too; for they had discover'd I had made

fration for want of a Parliament; and several a few Sots and English Bishops, fram'd and preother Ceremony I enjoin'd them to be observ'd part of the Scots Clergy were quiet, but wish'd for a National Synod, unto which their Bishops against the Usurpations of Popes and Kings in Matters Ecclefiastical, who, as they affirm'd, Anno 1636, I fent out my Admiral the Earl of had no Claim so much as to be call'd HEAD of the CHURCH, and that the Pope's Claim was as good as mine, began openly to exclaim humbled the States to agree to pay me an against the Bishops, as Enemies to Christ's Royal Prerogative, who is the only King and Head of his Church; also as Enemies to Scotland, by submitting implicitly to English Councils; and as the Slaves of the Arch-Prelate LAUD, the Arch Enemy of the Reformed Churches. They warned the People of a thorow Change in Church and State by their Bishops, against whom they must declare open War, unless they bid an ever-Administration, and Laud's Reformation, in the lasting Adieu to Liberty, Orthodoxy, and the Purity of Worship. Indeed, those Zealots got further Handle of incenfing the People, because greatest Men in England, Bishop WILLIAMS, the Canons had not been perused by an Assembly escap'd not the Star-chamber, but was fin'd and or Convocation of the Clergy, who were yet fo firially oblig'd to observe them; nor by the Lords of the Privy Council of Stotland, whose Right it was; but by my fole Authority impos'd, which Laud affur'd me would not be oppos'd in my ancient Kingdom.

But when the Scots had perused these Canons, written in a Style new and offenfive, they look'd upon the Imposition as a Subjection to England, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were most jealous, and which they passionately abhor'd; believing also, that every part of their Civil Government was invaded, and no Persons unconcern'd or unburt by 'em, and were all fuch Innovations as directly tended towards they had depopulated many Parishes by their Popery and Slavery, and arbitrary Power. Mean while the Bishops got the Ring-leaders of those Male-contents banish'd or imprison'd; particularly, the learned Parson RUTHERFORD was fent Prisoner from among the hot People of Galloway to Aberdeen, a Place of great Learning, venticles, run down Calvinism, tho' the national and well affected to the Bishops; but they gloried in their Sufferings, and were readily dispos'd to suffer Death in that Cause, which

they call'd the Cause of Christ.

Yet the Nobility and Gentry shew'd wonderfull Dexterity, by not permitting any rebellious Disorder, tho' it was in their Power, and tho' provok'd not only by the Bishops, but even by

III. Interview.

friet Enquiry into what Lands they posses'd that formerly belong'd to the Church, or the Crown; because after the Death of King JAMES V. Anno 1542, and upon the Reformation, they had reduced the Revenues of the Church to the Crown, which is always the Church's Heir, except a small Pittance for their Presbyterian Clergy, who fought not large Revenues and civil Jurisdiction, but only a Maintenance and Church Power: And during the Minorities of my Grand-mother and Fither the Nobility prevail'd with the feveral REGENTS to have most of those Revenues bestow'd on them, and on the Cadets of their ancient Families, first by way of Pension for Life, and afterwards found Means to prevent all Enquiry about them, as much as about other Property; hoping by Length of Time, and the Numbers and Power of them concern'd, to gain a Title. After my Grand-mother's flight into England, they did every thing polfible to fecure their Poffefsion, and kept my Father in Ignorance of it as long as they could, tho' when he came to understand it, he wanted Courage to resume those exorbitant Grants till he came to England, and never attempted it till Anno 1617, when in Scotland; and then they pleaded their long Possession, and swore at him, that they would defend it, as having well deserved it at his Hands, &c. and therefore he dropt it. But I still wanting Money, and finding an immense Revenue could be thus recover'd to the Crown of Scotland, which could not fall under the Law of Prescription, (as the Lord Advocate inform'd Archbishop Laud, who were my first Advisers in it ) and having the Bishops on my Side, I began to prepare for a publick Court of Enquiry in Scotland, in order to a Reduction and Refumption of those squander'd Revenues; but was prevented by the subsequent Commotions there. I say, they acted artfully in hiding their Resentments, and all was quiet, expeding the Bishops by their ill Management would afford them Occasion enough to be aveng'd on them, and to divert me from my grand Purpose; all the Nobility and great Gentry of Scotland (except a very few ) being now Presbyterians from Principle, or Interest, while I knew nothing of it, and could therefore make no Provision against

At length the Scots LITURGY, prepar'd by Laud and his Affociate Bishops, receiv'd my Approbation, and I appointed it to be publish'd and read in all the Kirks of Scotland; of which III. Interview.

Sunday before that it would be done. The Clergy were not at all confulted in it, nor indeed all the Bishops; and the People, hearing the new Liturgy was nearer akin to the Mass Book than even the old English one, went stark staring mad upon the first Essay; for when the Dean of Edinburgh, before the Chancellor, the Bishops, and Magistrates, began to read it in his Surplice, on Sunday the 23d of July 1637, a Muttering, a Noise and a Clamour against Antichrist and English Popery, produc'd a Shower of Stones and Sticks thrown at his Head, and one zealous Woman threw her Joint-stool for reading the Mass in Inglis at her Lug; nay, after the Rioters were thrust out by the Magistrates, they broke the Windows to convey their barbarous Noise, while the Dean finish'd the Service. All the City was in an Uproar, exclaiming against Pepery, Prelacy and Slavery; and the Bishop of Edinburgh narrowly escap'd Death. Yet no Man of Distinction and Consequence appear'd to countenance this Rabble; nor did the Bisheps desire the Council's Help; but the Lords of the Council laid the blame upon the Bishops, who allo, without confulting the Nobility, sent me an Express about it, till which very few in England dreamt of any Disorders in Scotland. Harvest coming on, all feem'd quiet; only the Women and Noble Ladies proclaim'd War against the Bishops, the Canons and Liturgy; but in a few Weeks all the Kingdom flock'd to Edinburgh, as in a Cause that concern'd their Salvation, and when those Ladies Husbands began to appear, the Bishops thought it Time to leave the City. The common People petition'd the Council against those Grievances, nor would any of 'em obey the Council's Proclamations, commanding all not Inhabitants to depart from Edinburgh; for foon after Christmas, 1637, the Presbyterians had cunningly refolv'd themselves into a Method of Government, erecting four Tables for the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Burghers, out of which a Council was elected to conduct their Affairs. They protested against my faid Proclamation of the 19th of February, and fent me a Petition against all their Grievances in the Name of the whole People of Scotland, took out of Prison all committed by the High-Commission, and enter'd into a Solemn League or Covenant, compos'd by the ingenious Mr. Henderson, foon after made the Principal of Edinburgh College, wherein they fwore mutually to defend one another; to preserve the Christian, Protestant, Reformed Religion ; to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, Superthe Scots Privy Council had no other Notice than Stition, Herefy, Schism and Prophaneness, to preall the Kingdom had, only by declaring the serve the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and

the Liberties of the Kingdom; to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; to discover and bring to condign Punishment all the Enemies of this COVENANT, &c. Whereby they imitated the People of Ifrael, in a folemn National Patt with God. This all forts of People fign'd, believing it was the same for Substance with the National Covenant, or Confession of Faith, fign'd by my Father and his Houshold Anno 1580, and next Year by all Ranks of People, and again fign'd Anno 1590, and which, they faid, I had virtually fign'd at my Coronation, because then I obligated my felf by Oath to preserve it; which old Covenant they all fign'd too, as a

Me ins to extinguish the present Fire.

The Earl of TRAQUAIR, Lord Treafurer, and a folemn Council, met at Sterling on the first of March, having honestly acquainted me, that they could not stop this Deluge, I fent, in May 1638, the Marquis of HAMILTON, who neither could by any means prevail with them to drop their Covenant. Upon which I faid rashly at first, that I would rather die than Submit to their damn'd Covenant; but not having my English Fleet and Army in readiness, I was prevail'd with in September to give Hamilton fresh Instructions, to revoke the Canons, the Liturgy, the High Commission and Perth Articles ; and by Proclamation to command every Body in Scotland to fign the Covenant that my Father had fign'd, but not this new one; and to pardon what was past. But the Cobenanters valued not my faid Proclamation, and would have it done by an Assembly and Parliament: Therefore I summon'd a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the 15th of May following, and mean while indicted a National Synod, that met at Glasgow the 21st of November 1638, and soon provok'd Hamilton, my High Commissioner, for not allowing the Votes of my Affellors, and the Bishops to prefide in the Affembly, &c. to dissolve them on the 28th; against which they protested, as what was contrary to their National Privileges, and continued litting in the Name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST; folemnly condemn'd the foresaid Grievances, and all the Constitution of the Prelatical Church, with the Assemblies held under the Prelacy; summon'd all the Scots Bijbops to appear as Criminals, whom they depoted, and excommunicated leveral of 'em for their Contumacy in not appearing, (to hear a very heavy Charge of Immoralities, &c. which they were ready to prove) and confirm'd their Covenant, ordering it by an Act of Assembly to be figu'd by III. Interview.

all the Members of that National Church, and on the 20th of December they role in Triumph, finging the 122d Pfalm. Yet all this Time they profes'd all Duty and Obedience to me, according to their Covenant, the chief Instrument of their Union and Actions; that is, If I would do what they defired, they would be my hearty Friends and bumble Servants; which is the secret Language of all formidable Parties among a People They took care to write to me their Free-born. humble Request for my royal Affent to their Transactions, and likewise to send their Apologies throughout England; nay, sent them in Latin to all the Protestant Churches abroad, who thereby receiv'd the Prejudice of believing that I really delign'd to introduce Popery, or something very like it.

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GUSTAVUS.

But why did you not prevent all this Havock, by making the Scots Nobility fecure in their Possessions; for they would, no doubt, have been ready to purchase a Title by moderate Sums, which put together would have amounted to a very considerable Total, whereby you might have rais'd an Army sit to garrifon the whole Island by the Assistance of your trusty Wentworth?

CHARLES.

I was ready enough to make them easy in that manner; but neither my Wife, nor the Archbishop, nor any of my Cabinet, would permit me, and press'd me to acquaint first my Council, then, by my printed Declarations, the whole English Nation with the Indignities of the Scots Cobenanters; and having about the End of this Year 1638 proclaim'd the Scons all Rebels, I gave Orders for an Army to suppress them, which was the first Alarm of any civil Wars: Tho wife Men forefaw that the ENG-LISH, tho' not so very combustible as the Scots, would at length take Fire by being long incens'd; that Nation being already uneafy at the too great Influence of my Wife, Land and Wentworth, and at the News of Wentworth's raifing an Irish Army all or most Papists, who were more in my Interest than the Protestants of Ireland, that were mostly Puritans, and always complaining of Wentworth's Administration; nay, every Body faw that, instead of a Parliament in England, I had only my Parasites and Favorites to advise me, with a Set of clever Judges to justify all my Acts of State, by wire-drawing ancient Laws, and exalting my Prerogative, while the Laudean Clergy harangu'd their Hearers with paffive Obedience and Non-Resistance upon any Pretence whatfover.

Nor were those Clergy-men more hated than the Judges, especially after the Tryal of the famous HAMBDEN, a Gentleman of the old Saxon Race, and of an ancient great Fortune, whose Family had been ally'd to most great Families in England; a Man also of Learning, Forefight and Fortitude, the implacable Enemy of the Judges, for having so often in the Star-Chamber and at the Council Table, nay, even at the Circuits, used many Impertinencies, Incongruities, and Infolencies in their Speeches in behalf of illegal Impositions: and when no Body for four Years past dared to oppose my raifing Ship- Money, after the Judges had so often appear'd for it, this same Mr. HAMBDEN refolv'd to dispute it, cost what it would; and tho' the Assessment upon his House was only twenty Shillings, he refes'd Payment with Scorn. By Advice of Lord Chief Justice FINCH, I previously exterted the Judges Opinion ex parte in Writing, which agreed with that of my late Attorney Noy at first; and then in February 163? I brought Hambden to the Exchequer Bar, where, tho' he pleaded with much Force of Argument, my Right to impose that Tax was affirm'd by all the fadges, except CROKE and HATTON. Which Judgment nevertheless prov'd of more Credit to Hambden than to me, tho' he carried on the Suit against the Crown at his own great Coft: For when the Nobility and Gentry heard this Tax demanded, not by an Att of State in Privy-Council, but in a Court of Law as a Right, and faw the sworn Judges of the Law had so adjudged upon such Grounds and Reasons as every By-stander was able to swear was not Law; when, instead of giving, they were requir'd to pay, by a Logick that left no Man's Property fecure; they no more look'd upon it as the Case of Hambden, but of the whole KINGDOM: When they found in a Court of Law (that LA w, which gave them both Title and Possession of all they had ) Reasons of State urged as Elements of Law, Judges as sharp fighted as Secretaries of State, and their there was neither Enquiry nor Proof; nor any Reason offer'd for paying the Twenty Shillings in Dispute, but what included every Man's Effate, nor knew the Extent of the Tendency of fuch Doctrine and Practice, that might in a short time fcorn all Boundaries; they turn'd indifferent of what became of me and my corrupt Judges: Yet they rather pitied than hated me, while they scornfully detested my Judges and Favorites, whom HAMBDEN particularly threatned in the Style of the Poet:

111. Interview.

Manet alta Mente repostum Judicium PARIDIS

But they laugh'd at him and all the World, not once dreaming of an after Reckoning in Parliament, because I had affured them I would never call another.

I foon rais'd an Army of 6000 Horse, and as many Foot, mostly Veterans well appointed, against the Scots, and made the Earl of Arundel my Captain General, the Earl of Effex Lientenant General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horse: For besides 900000 1. husbanded by my Treasurer Juxon, my Servants handsomely assisted me; Wentworth fent me a great Sum from Ireland, LAUD and his fort of Bishops contributed largely, as being more deeply concern'd in the Success, it being call'd the Bishops War; but my WIFE engaged the Papifts to furnish most of the Charge of that Army and Expedition.

On the other fide, the Scots being proclaimed Rebels, rais'd an Army under your General ALEXANDER LESLY, a veteran Scots Officer in your Army, who after your Death returned home, because he thought himfelf flighted, in not receiving the chief Command of the Swedish Army, under JOHN BANIERS; and being lately disoblig'd by me prov'd my inveterate Enemy, teaching very carefully his new rais'd Countrymen the martial Discipline, and the Order of Battle, to defend their Covenant and Presbyterian Discipline; and by Order of the Lords of the Tables, he seiz'd the REGALIA at Sterling and Dalkeith, took Dunbarton Castle, and routed my Party of loyal-Scots near Aberdeen; the News of which haftned my March with the Army Northward, with a fine Train of Artillery, having also sent the Marquis Hamilton my Admiral with a great Fleet, and 3000 Foot aboard, to infest the Enemy, and make a Descent; tho' he did neither, being under the Influence of his Mother and Si-Judgment grounded on supposed Facts, of which fers, and their Husbands, all great Cobenan-

> I march'd from London on the 27th of March 1639, fent Effex before me to take Possession of Berwick, while I fummon'd all the Nobility to attend me at York; and suspecting some of em corresponded with the Scots, I made them all declare the contrary upon Oath, except SAY and BROOKS, two Puritans, who refus'd that Oath, because it was not by Law enjoin'd. At Tork I received most humble Addresses from the Rebels, which did not move me to defift, and arriv'd with my Army

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ter End of May, and on the 31st of May I detach'd HOLLAND with 3000 Horse and 2000 Foot, and a Train, to engage a Detachment of the Scots at Duns, within seven Miles of my Camp; but advancing only with the Horse, and perhaps believing the Scots to be much stronger than they were, by the joint Consent of all his chief Officers, Holland retir'd four Miles to his Foot, and Train; where 'tis true he found my Orders come after him not to engage the Enemy, and fo return'd. Nay, on the 2d of June, Holland acted the same Part again at Kelfo near the Tweed.

Upon this, the Scors advanced, not to fight, but to sue for Peace, and sent Letters to my Generals and others from the chief Covenanters, " Declaring their Aversion to a War with Eng-" land; that their only Aim was to defend " their own legal Rights, befeeching them to " present the inclosed Supplication to me, and " to do them good Offices. In which they fucceeded well; for Provisions growing scarce, my Army began to murmur; and the Lords generally difliking the War, kindly received the Scots. Commissioners, all except the brave Essex, the Darling of the Swordsmen of England. And indeed I more intended the Pomp, than the Strength of my Preparations, hoping that the Glory of such an Appearance of the English No-BILITY would at once terrify and reduce the Scots without Blood: Therefore tho' the Scots address'd me in the sturdy Style of that Nation, justifying all they had done to be according to their native Rights, and for my Service, which they bad always before their Eyes; desiring those might be punish'd who had misrepresented them to me, and that I would appoint some noble Lords to treat with them; I consented to a Treaty at Duns on June 8th, and Articles of Pacification were fign'd on the 18th of June 1639. But there most Matters were transacted in Discourse, without Writing, and what was written was in equivocal Terms; not any two present could afterboth Armies should be disbanded, an Act of Oblivion to be pass'd, my Forts and Castles to be restored, an Assembly and Parliament to be call'd for a full Settlement, but none reserv'd to Justice.

I immediately disbanded my Army, tho'

at the Berks on the Scots Side of Berwick the lat- [ill Conduct, that if I had staid at London, or at York, and fent forward the Army under the Conduct of military Men only, and if my Progress had not been more illustrious than my March, and if my Soldiers had not been the least Part of my Army, and least consulted, I had speedily reduc'd Scotland: And after all, I had made a more honourable Peace, if no Scots Lords had been in my Retinue, if no-English Lords had countenanced the Covenanters, and if I had as firmly stood to my Prerogative as at other Times out of Season. But upon my Return every Man was asham'd of it; Laud was in a Rage, and Wentworth infulted all he thought guilty: My WIFE also upbraided me, and made me melancholy, faying always that fo infamous a Matter should not be cover'd with. Oblivion: Therefore old Secretary Cook was made the Sacrifice, and turn'd out, as was alledg'd, for having omitted to write some things in my Behalf, and for writing what he ought. not in Behalf of the Scots, at the Treaty; who was succeeded by Sir Harry VANE, at my Wife's Recommendation; which was strenuously oppos'd, tho' in vain, by Wentworth, who lov'd old Cook, and detefted Vane, and was earnest for expiating that Miscarriage by a greater Sacrifice. Cook being 80 Years old, and not knowing the Reason of the War. And thus, by the Pacification of Duns, the Animolities at Court were greater and more visible; it kindled many Fires; but the Flame broke out first again in Scot-LAND.

For the Scors finding I repented of my Condescensions, and justly fearing another War, did not disband all their Forces, and kept all their Officers in Pay, pretending the Parliament. must do it, for whose sake they were rais'd, which I had appointed to meet on the 3.1st of August; and mean while I sent Traquair my High Commissioner to the NATIONAL SYNOD at Edinburgh on the first of August 1639, where all the Ass of the late Synod at Glasgow were. confirm'd. When the Parliament met, they foon wards agree upon the Meaning thereof; tho' the excluded the Bishops, ratify'd all the Acts of principal Articles of this Pacification were: That the two last Synods, and publish'd the Articles. of the Pacification; which being brought up to me, I order'd the Pamphlet immediately to be. burnt by the common Hangman at London, protesting the Articles were falsify'd. You need not doubt the Scots Parliament did warmly resent not in a very obliging manner, discharging the this fresh Provocation, as an open Violation of great Essex only in the Crowd. New-Cafile the Articles, of which, they faid, they had not had been affronted by Holland, and I prevented falfify'd a Word; and declar'd, that feeing they their duelling. Every Man posted to London could not safely depend upon my Royal Word, the sho, test way, and I soon came to see my nor my publick Acts, while under the malign Influence of my Wife, Land and Wentworth, covering his Dominions, but excused my felf by their implacable Enemies, they were oblig'd to confult their own Safety and that of their Posterity. In pursuance of which, they again feiz'd on my Castles, recall'd their disbanded Forces, invited many Scots Officers from Germany and Sweden to come over and help them: And that they might safely enjoy, as they said, their Religion, Liberty and Property, they refolv'd upon certain Limitations to my Government, to prevent their being tyranniz'd over by my Favorites. Therefore Traquair prorogued them to the 14th of November, against which they protested, continued sitting without a Commissioner, as they faid their gallant Fathers were wont to do in such Cases, and now the first time rais'd National Taxes as a Con-VENTION of ESTATES; sent up the Earl of Dunfermling and Lord Loudoun as Deputies. to represent to me that English Garrisons were put into Scots Castles, new Oaths, contrary to their Covenant, impos'd on all Scots-men travelling or trading in England or Ireland, their being deny'd Access with Petitions, and the other Injuries they had fustain'd since the Pacification; to fignify their Fears, to account for their Conduct, and to propose Means for preventing another War: But coming without Traquair's Warrant, I commanded them back again without an Audience, bid Traquair prorogue them by Proclamation to the 2d of June 1640, and to come himself to London with an Ac count of those Limitations, &c. When he came, he told me with Grief, that the Covenanters had reduced most of the People to an implicite Faith and blind Obedience, and were prepar'd for War, that most of the great Nobi-Lity had join'd them, particularly the Valiant MONTROSE and the Learned ARGYLE; and that they could not be reduced but by an English Army, the Disease being National, and had infected even my Servants and Ministers of State and Justice. This Account made me require them now to fend their Deputies, to whom I gave Letters of fafe Conduct, among whom were Loudoun and Mr. Colville, who acted at London as Plenipotentiaries from a foreign State, and would give no Account to any but my felf, but polish'd their Behaviour with handsome Professions of Duty and Submission to me; yet wrote to their Constituents in Scotland to be upon their Guard, because War and Vengeance were determin'd against them at

I was now again importun'd by my Nepbeau III. Interview,

the Commotions in Scotland; and therefore he took a Journey thro' France incognito, in order to take the Command of the Swedish Army, but was unhappily discover'd at Lyons, and long detain'd a Prisoner. In August this Year all the World were alarm'd at the unlook'd for SPANISH Fleet on the English Coast, above 70 Sail of stout Ships of War, commanded by Momiral Don Antonio d'OQUENDO, pretending only to carry Money and Recruits to their Fort of Dunkirk: But that Errand not requiring such a Fleet, all People justly suspected the PAPISTS were fishing in troubled Waters, whilft I was at War with the Scors; and in a very short Time every Body faw it was my WIFE's Plot, concerted with the English Papists, and the King of SPAIN; for the was bigotted to the Counfels of the Pope's Nuncio, and her Confessor, while by my Indolence the Blame was laid on me. But the Fears of England were soon over; for Momiral V AN TRUMP, with a Dutch Fleet of Men of War, much inferior in Number and Strength, affaulted d'Oquendo, and drove his Fleet into the English Downs, where he thought. he might ride fafe under my Protection, according to the Law of Nations, I being a neutral Prince. But gallant Van Trump, finding a small Pretence to elude the Law of Nations, without the Ceremony of asking my Leave, nor regarding my Soveraignty of the Seas, like an ill-bred. and blunt Hollander, fell in upon the Spaniards with that Vigour and Bravery, that he burnt or funk, or drove ashoar almost all that formidable Armado, in the very Sight of my English Fleet, to the great Joy of all good Protestants, and the inexpressible Sorrow of the Papists, who afterwards composed Forms of Prayer for the Holy Martyrs that suffer'd in the Fleet, sent against the Hereticks in England Anno 1639.

In the mean time RICHELIEU, not having forgot my affifting the Rochellers, and being lately provok'd by my refusing to stand neuter, in case the French attack'd the Spanish Flanders, and discovering by his Envoy the Count d' Estrades, Anno 1637, that the Scots were malecontent, began a Correspondence with some of the Covenanters; and they much wanting foreign Aids, accepted of his Offer, and wrote a Letter to my Brother L E W 18, complaining of my Government, pleading the ancient Alliance between the Scots and French, desiring now his Protection, and to give entire Credit to the Bearer Mr. Colville, &c., subscrib'd by ROTHES, MONTROSE, LESLY, MAR, MONTGOMERY, LOUDOUN, FORthe Elector PALATINE to affift him in re- RESTER, and Superscrib'd Au Boy, To the King,

as if they had been his native Subjects. This | Coventay, who had been Lord Keeper 15 Letter Traquair found in Statland by a Strat Years, was generally belov'd, as a wife and motagem, and while the Scots Deputies were at derate Man, even by the Puritans, and would London put it into my Hands, which exceedingly furpriz'd me; and having shewn it to my English Council, they forthwith fent for Loudoun and Colville, who faid, The Letter was written during open War, before the Pacification and Act of Oblivion, and so was never sent to France; that the Superscription was only a Piece of Form to conciliate Respect, but that they were not accountable in England for any Offence committed in Scotland; that my Council were ignorant, or worse, to pretend to examine them, being Deputies from the Scots Parliament; and pleading their Letters of fafe Conduct, they demanded leave to return in Safety. Nevertheless, I sent them both to the Tower in close Hold, resolving to bring them forth to a publick Tryal, and order'd an Indictment of High Treason against them, which I foon found was against Law. And having also order'd all the Goods and Ships of ScotLAND to be feiz'd in England, Ireland, or on the Seas, the Scors thought they had Cause enough to continue their Convention, to rife in Arms, and purchase warlike Stores and Accourrements in France and Holland too, where their Credit daily increas'd fince the Pacification, and believing my Conduct was a Declaration of War, they fent none to follicite me for Loudoun and Colville, but prepared for the worst.

You may be fure, my dear GusTAVUS, I could not be easy, to find my ancient Kingdom applying for foreign Aids against me their native lawful Prince, and difregarding me at home as a lawless Tyrant. But being fully convinced that this growing Evil requir'd the strongest Remedies, I call'd my Council in December 1639, who all advis'd me, that feeing I had spent all, and anticipated my Revenue, no Expedient was fo proper as to Summon a PARLIAMENT, which I appointed to meet on the 13th of April next. Most welcome News to my English, who had not feen a Parliament for 12 Years past. Yet to cover my Necessity, and to make it seem an A& of my Grace and Favour, I proceeded in

the fame old unpopular Ways.

This Year also died feveral eminent Friends of mine, as the ingenious Sir Harry WOTTON, and Doffer Spottiswood, the learned Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord High Chancellor, and Primate of all S c o T L A N D, who had lately fled to me from the Sentence of the Affembly at Glafgow, and I buried him in Wostminster-Abby near his beloved Master my royal Father; but my greatest Loss was by the Death of Sir Thomas III. Interview.

have prudently manag'd the Parliament much for my Interest : His last dying Words were a Request he senr me, To take all Distastes from the insuing Parliament with Patience, and to suffer it to fit without an unkind Diffolution; which came to my Remembrance with Regret afterwards,

when I had afted the contrary.

On the 12th of Fanuary 16 THOMAS Viscount WENTWORTH I created Earl of STRAFFORD, Baron RABY, and Knight of the Garter. He readily advis'd a War against the Stats, whom he mortally hated, and fubscrib'd 20000 1. towards it, and the Duke of RICHMOND 40000 % as many of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, other large Sums. Strafford foon went to meet the Parliament in Ireland, and return'd to affift in the English Parliament, that met on the 13th of April 1640, when he was introduced into the House of Peers as Earl of STRAFFORD, and acquainted them that the Irish Parliament had granted me four entire Subfidies for 10000 Foot and 1500 Horse, which he urged as a good Precedent for this Parliament. My Son CHARLES being ten Years old took his Seat as Prince of WALES, and I made them a Speech from the Throne, wherein I shortly mention'd my Desire to be acquainted with Parliaments after so long an Intermission, referring the rest to my new Keeper Sir John FINCH, who related the whole Story of Sootland, particularly their Address to the French King, with Imart Observations on their Superscription, Au Roy; but, after a Horid Harangue told them, " That the King wanted not their " Mediation, which would not be grateful to him, only a Supply competent for the Vindication of his Honour, to enable him speedily to raise an Army, the Rebels being already well provided, and that his Majesty would afterwards allow them full Time for enquiring after Grievances, and consent to redress them. When he had done, I spoke to confirm what he had faid, and produced the Scots Lords Original Letter to my Brother LE w 15, with a Translation of it read by the Lord Keeper, and how I had secured Loudoun and Colville.

But I foon perceiv'd by the Looks of my Auditors, I had not mov'd them, and the Scots Letter produced made no Impression, Loudoun having fent them in Writing privately from the Tower such a plausible Account of that Affair, that it was never more mention'd; many of em declaring, that England had no Ground of Quarrel with Scotland, and should not increach upon ino Money for a War against the Scots. Vane, the Liberty of a friendly Nation, whose Case might foon be their own. Therefore after Serjeant GLANVILLE was chosen Speaker, Mr. Py M in the House of Commons, a Man of good Reputation, brake the Ice, and in a Speech of two Hours, without meddling with Scotland, and mentioning me with great Respect, rehears'd all the English Grievances of my Reign, " To shew " how much Work must be done to make the " Nation eafy: And most of 'em being courteous Gentlemen, would allow of no difrespectful Expressions: Nay, tho' Grimston and Rudyard, and several more, talk'd smartly of the Dangers at home being greater than those from abroad, and that the Disorders of 11 Years past, since the last Dis-Solution of the Parliament, must be now set right, to vindicate God in his Religion, the King in his Honour, and the Commonwealth in its gasping Extremities; yet I believe, they would have supported me, if my Impatience of a Delay had not retarded them, depending also too much on the previous Resolution of my Council, to assist me in extraordinary Ways, in case the Parliament should grow peevish, as they did a little; because I press'd them to vote a Supply before the Redress of Grievances, which they would not do, nor budge from that Purpose, by depending on my Promise of allowing them Time to redress their many Grievances. But unwarily I got the Lords, at a Free Conference, to advise the Commons to begin with a Supply, which the Commons call'd an unprecedented meddling, and fuch a Breach of their Privilege, that they were not fatisfy'd by the Lords begging Pardon, without a publick Protestation recorded. Mean while I fent the Commons an Offer by Secretary V ANE, that for 12 Subsidies, payable in three Years, I would give up Ship-money; which being debared in a Committee of the whole House, of which Lenthall was Chairman, many of 'em wish'd that a less Sum might be acceptable; and all agreed to give none for the Release of Ship-money, which deferv'd no Consideration, but for a Teftimony of their Love and Duty only. Serjeant GLANVILLE the Speaker recommended a Supply in order to reconcile the King to Parliaments for ever; and I had certainly a Majority, for all the Clamour about the Questions of Hyde and Hambden, and had carried a good previous Vote, if Vane had not affur'd them, that the King avould accept of no Supply but in the manner propos'd; upon which the Debate was dropt. Nay, both he and Herbert my Solicitor came and redrefented to me the Temper of the Commons worle than it delerved, as if they would grant III. Interview.

thro' Malice implacable at Strafford, whose Destruction was then upon the Anvil, for opposing his Advancement to be Secretary, and for obtaining the Title of Baron RABY, the Name of Vane's House; and Herbert, thro' Pride and Peevishness, so wrought upon me, that, without Deliberation, on the 5th of May I dissolv'd this 4th Parliament, which was the last I ever disfolv'd, to the great Grief of my Friends, and the Joy of my Enemies, who smiling said, That all was well, and that it must be worse before it could be better; knowing, I should be compell'd shortly to call another, and upon Reflection I foon found my Error; for I could not charge the Parliament with the least unbecoming Carriage, and declared I never impower'd Vane to fay what he faid, and that the Reputation of any Supply against the Scots would have been very acceptable, but could not by Proclamation recal them: And tho' I publish'd my Reasons for this Dissolution, they made no Impression; for I was ill advis'd next Day to order Lord BROOK'S Study, Cabinet and Pockets to be fearch'd for Papers, and to imprison, without shewing Cause, Mr. Bellasis, Mr. Crew, and Sir John Hotham, for Words utter'd in Parliament, which was much refented.

The CONVOCATION of the Clergy, ufually fitting only during the Parliament, I continued by a new Writ for above a Month with the Title of a SYNOD, and with my Confent they made seventeen new Canons, which they might do; nay, granted me fix Subfidies, and enjoin'd certain Oaths, which, I understood afterwards, was illegal; and by many Things questionable in the best of Times made Fewel for the Fire that enfued, and drew an ugly Prejudice upon the whole Clergy, particularly on LAUD, whose Palace at Lambeth was attack'd in May by a great Mob, vowing to kill him, but were fruftrated, and one of 'em was condemn'd and executed, his Quarters being fix'd on London Bridge. Yet the Mob continued in a Rage, because Dr. Goodman Bishop of Gloucester had given out, that Laud and Montagu corresponded with the POPE's Nuncio.

The Papifts also flourishing under my Wife's Protection, incens'd the People by making Proselytes with such Circumstances, as destroy'd the Charity and Peace of great and powerful Families, who therefore long'd for their Suppreffion: Nay, they were the Contrivers and Promoters of the most adious Projects, openly carried on their Religion (by the Care of my Secretary WINDEBANK) as if there had

been no Laws in Force against them; and the Army was too well appointed, and their Corre-Nuncio affum'd a publick Jurisdiction over them; nay, as from a frt of a Parliament of Lords and Commons, railed great Sums for the War against the Siots, to be lodg'd with my WIFE; which drew upon them and her the Rage of that Nation, and of the English too. Yet by their Help, and the voluntary Loans of my private Friends, I brought into my Exchequer 300000 1. in a few Weeks, wherewith, and with the Hopes of other Funds, I rais'd an Army of 20000 Men. But the City of London refusing to lend me 2000001. I imprison'd some Aldermen, for denying to give the Names of rich Men capable to lend Money, which was afterwards re-

member'd against me.

But while I was raising an Army against the Scots, of which Northumberland was General, Strafford Lieutenant General, and Conway General of the Horse, (none of the Generals, and few of the Chief Officers of the last Army being employ'd, which gave great Disgust) while Srafford took care by his Lieutenant General Ormond to have the Army of Irish Papists, with a Train of Artillery, ready upon call; and while Lord Congray was fent to secure New-Caftle, and to dispute the Scots entring England between Carlifle and Berwick, which were well provided; all the World were aftonish'd at my discharging on a fudden Lord Loudoun from the Tower, without imparting it to my Council, as I did when he was committed: Nay, I receiv'd him kindly at Whitehall a few Days, and dismiss'd him and Colville safely to Scotland. It was owing to Marquis Hamilton, who being inform'd by Sir William Balfour the Governor of the Tower, that Loudoun and Colville were to be cut off fecretly in Prison, wakened me at Midnight, and passionately represented the ill Consequence of fuch a vile Murder; that tho' it might be the Defign of Strafford (who had formerly offer'd to cut off the Earl of Holland privately) or of some such bloody Enemies of Scotland, the Disgrace would fall upon me; and that my fending Loudoun home in Safety might gain him to my Intereft, his Influence there being very considerable, because of his great Wildom, Learning and Eloquence.

On the 20th of July, 1640, my Son HENRY was born, whom I made the Duke of G L O U C E-STER; and while my Wife was lying in, I fet out from London towards Tork, the Place of the general Rendezvous of my Army, and issued a Proclamation, declaring the Scots to be Rebels for deligning to overturn the Monarchy, yet of-

fpondencies in England too many, and too confiderable, for them now to feign Obedience, or fue for Pardon but under Arms.

Northumberland's Sickness much retarded the Motion of my Army; so that the Command fell to Strafford, who had been also very much indispos'd. But before he arriv'd in the North, I arriv'd at Tork, and the Scots Army on their own Borders, where they halted, to debate in feveral Councils of War, affifted by a Committee of ESTATES, whether they should make the War defensive, or offensive; or rather, whether they should expect me upon the Borders. as before, or march into England, and fo carry the War out of Scotland. But while they were undetermin'd, an English Gentleman came near the Camp, and getting Speech of Earl Rothes, gave him a Letter fign'd by about a dozen of English Noblemen, writ with Caution, and defiring Rothes to give entire Credit to the Bearer; who, before General Lefly and two of the Committee of EsTATEs, upon folemn Secrecy, affured Rothes and them, that many great Men of ENGLAND were griev'd to foresee the Ruin of their Country, in case the King became absolute Master of Scotland; because he was enrag'd at the Parliament's refusing to assist him with Money for this War; that nothing was so generally desired in England as a Free Parliament, to redress their terrible Grievances; that if the Scots Army would forthwith march into England, the King must be straitned, and oblig'd to call a Parliament, and would be solicited to it by the City of London, and the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry, who would also take care to mediate with the King for a Treaty with the Scots, that might be for the Good of both Nations; and that if they flipt this Opportunity, they could never expect the like again,

This being so very agreeable to their former Intelligence, determin'd them next Morning to resolve to march into England (with 22000 Men, of which MONTROSE led the Van) that Afternoon, the 21st of August, 1640; when they publish'd a Manifesto of their Reasons for the Lawfulness of that Expedition. But that this English Letter was a Forgery of Lord Saville's, the irreconcileable Enemy of Earl Strafford, who counterfeited those Noblemens Hands, appear'd afterwards at the Treaty of RIPPON, when Rothes and some of those Lords convers'd about the Motives, that induced the Scots rashly, as they thought, to invade England; tho they thought it a Secret of too great Imporfering them Pardon upon Submission. But their | tance to be generally known at that Time.

III. Interview.

Army at York, the Scots, on the 27th of Au- of Arms. gust under Lesly, march to Newburn upon Tyne, where he was expected by Conway, who was viv'd the Great Council of all the Peers (an old ready to receive him, and dispute his Passage Thing almost forgot, but what I lik'd better with 3000 Foot under Sir Faceb Aftly, and 1200 than a Parliament, and it could be sooner as-Horse under Wilmot their Commissary. Lefly sembled) and summon'd them to attend me at desir'd of Conway leave to go with their Petition to me at York; and Conway refuling them Passage, Lesly next Day, by the help of nine Canon, forced his Way, kill'd 300 English, took Wilmot Prisoner, after breaking the Horse, and took Possession of Newburn, with their Baggage and Artillery. The English were put to an infamous, and irreparable Rout, and Lefly pursued the Blow, by marching immediately towards New-Castle, where he met with no Resistance, which he possess'd, and soon after Durham, Conway not daring to rally his Forces. Thus the Scots got into their Hands a great deal of England's Wealth, besides my Magazines, and laid the Counties of Northumberland and Durham under Contribution.

I had reach'd to Northallerton, but upon the News return'd to York with the Army: There I met Strafford all in a Rage, whole haughty Carriage towards Conway, and his Officers, inflim'd the Soldiery against him more than against the Enemy, whose Cause, they said, might be just, and so prevented an Enquiry into the late Thameful Flight, by a Court Martial. Had I follow'd the good Advice of the brave Strafford at that time, humanely speaking, I had recover'd all; for he was earnest to try the utmost Extremity of War, and fairly offered to engage and repulse the Scots with his well disciplin'd Irish in that Army, and fuch English as would voluntarily join him, which were not a few. But tho' I yielded to him, that a Peace in the beginning of the War must be prejudicial to my Authority and Honour, yet finding the Enemy proud with Success, my Army corrupted, or at least difheartned, the County of York mutinous, at least not inclin'd to reduce the Scots, tho' able enough, while the Scots had promis'd not to molest Yorksbire, my Court confounded with jarring Politicks, my Exchequer exhausted, my Revenue anticipated, and no Time left to prevent the Scots Army flush'd with Victory from running over England, while the People were too ready to make them welcome, and two difcontented Nations almost united to rebel a-

III. Interview.

But before Strafford could arrive to muster the best Way to do that was a Truce or Cessation

To accomplish which with Honour, I re-York in 20 Days, who met accordingly the latter End of Sptember; when I told them, first, "That having been addrest by the Gentlemen of Yorkshire, and the Northern Counties, the City of London, and about 12 Noblemen, to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster, and especially influenced to it by a Letter from my WIFE (for I much endeavour'd to endear her to the People) I had order'd the Writs to bear Date 40 Days before the 3d of November next, which could not be fooner: " And having found the Rebels dispos'd for an " Accommodation, I defired their Lordships Ad-" vice in it. The Lords having peruled the Petition of the Scots to me, full of most obliging and dutiful Expressions (who indeed always gave me good Words) as if they had been vanquish'd, and I the Victor, immediately advis'd me to a Treaty. Tho' withal they omitted no material Grievance, viz. " That the " Acts of their Convention of EsTATES might " be homologated by me, or recogniz'd - Edin-" burgh Castle, and the other Forts, repaired " and used for their Defence - No new Oaths " and Subscriptions contrary to their Covenant " impos'd upon Scotsmen in England or Ireland " -All Incendiaries brought to Censure - Their " Ships and Goods, with all Losses, Damages " and Charges, be repair'd - The Declaration against them as Traitors be recall'd - All Gar-" risons be remov'd from the Borders, and all the " Impediments of a free Trade - And that the Parliament of England may meet as foon as possible, as the only means to settle Peace, " and keep them from advancing further; for " that as nothing but Necessity had forced them " to Arms, fo nothing elfe should force them, " they faid, to go beyond the Limits I had fet "them; for I had forbid them to come be-" youd Durham. I fay, the PEER's readily advis'd me to a Treaty. I then appointed 8 EARLS, Hertford, Bedford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Effex, Holland, Briftol and Berkshire; with S Lord BARONS, Kimbolton (alias Mandeville, Son of the Earl of Manchester) Wharton, Dunsmore, Pagainst me, notwithstanding their ancient Anti- get, Brook, Saville, Paulet, and Howard of Eserick; pathy; I thought if I could gain one of 'em, as my Deputies to meet the Scots Commissioners, the other would readily submit, and the who were the Earl of Dunfermling, the Lord Lou-

plass, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Fohnston, and Mr. Principal Henderson the Clergyman; not at York, because their inveterate Enemy Strafford there commanded the Army, but at RIPPON in that County, and within my Quarters, while the Scots difmis'd Wilmot and other chief Prifoners, who gave an extraordinary Account of the Religion, and exact Discipline of that Army.

They met on the first of October, when the Scors, after expressing their Duty to me, and their Affection to the English Nation, desired my Commissioners not to entertain an ill Opinion of their coming thus into England, having the same Tenderness for their Laws, Liberties and Privileges, as for their own; that as Necessity drove em thus to address their King, to whom all Access had been deny'd them, by the malign Influence and Power of their Enemies; so they hop'd their coming in thus may give the English an Opportunity of vindicating their Laws and Liberties, that had been also invaded, and of preserving Scotland and Ireland from threatned Slavery and imminent Ruine, without preventing which, England could not be long safe: That all might be prevented by the King's removing Laud, Strafford, and Hamilton, from about his Royal Person, by not listning to the Queen in Matters of Church or State, and by having faithful Counsellors about him, that would truly consult the Welfare of the Protestant Religion, now in very great Danger: That they were ready to join the English Nation for mutual Support and Redress of Grievances in both Kingdoms; for that they must stand and fall together: And that they hop'd Acts of Hostility on either side would be prevented, by the English taking care to pay the Scots

When my Commissioners made Report, I found the Scots had infected them all, even those that were of my Council; and thinking the Parliament would be more jealous of my Honour, I fent them back to Rippon, to renew the Treaty upon as good Terms as they could, viz. That both Armies should be kept on Foot, until they were paid off, and a Truce was made between them for -tavo Months; the Scots were not to enter Yorkshire, nor inlarge their Quarters beyond the Northern Counties: And for the rest, the Treaty was adjourn'd to London (which was every way best for the Scots) whither their Commissioners posted with my fate Conduct; and having confirm'd the Ceffation, and diffolv'd the Council of Peers, the latter end of October, I and the Lords went to London to meet the Parliament, leaving STRAF-AORD in the North to Suppress the mutinous

III. Interview.

Loudoun, Sir Pat. Hepburn, Sir William Dou- Shire more to my Service, and against the Scots. whom they were wont to abhor: But the gallant Man was most unsuccessful in both, the Officers repairing to London without his leave, and the Yorksbire Gentlemen deserting him, who had now been long the Lord President of the North;

nay, combining against him.

Thus you fee, my dear GusTAvus, I was hitherto ill advis'd to plead the Lawfulness of extraordinary Methods of raising Money in case of Necessity, and when there was none, to proceed upon that Ground for many Years; whereas now the Necessity was apparent, Money must be levied in the ordinary Course of Parliament: How infatuated was I to call an English Parliament before the Sots Army retir'd, especially when I could have compell'd them, and have eafily vifited Scotland by my Popish Army in Ireland? Had I and Strafford, upon the Defeat of Newburn, not staid at York, but advanced with the whole Army to Durham, the Scots Detachment there must have retired to join their main Body, and my English wou'd have foon recover'd their Fright, and retriev'd their Honour too, by driving the Stots over Tine and Tweed both, I doubt not: Nor can I justify my Conduct in fummoning the Great Council of PEERS, having known by laft Summer's Experience, that fuch a Concourse would not be for my Service, would make Men much worfe than they came, and beget worse Thoughts in them, who had been already, most of 'em, disoblig'd and discontented. Nor should I have omitted to lay before that grand Council the present State of Scotland, how the Rebels had invaded all the Rights of the Crown, alter'd the Government, affronted the Magistrates and Ministers of Justice, and my own Regal Authority with great Contempt and Infolence; had belieg'd and taken Edinburgh-Castle, and all my other Forts; had rejected all Offers of Grace and Pardon, and without just Cause denounced and levied War against me: For the Sots Commissioners at Rippon took care (as also at Duns) to inform the English of all their Grievances about the High Commission, the Liturgy and Canons imposed on them, with all the odd Circumstances of Illegality and Rigour, (upon which they made very fmart Comments) of the Indecencies of the Scots Bishops and their Immoralities, of my Encroachments upon their civil Rights, and my Endeavours to render all their Properties precarious; that they had often address'd me in the most humble manner, without being kindly received, and without the least Hopes of Disposition of the Army, and to dispose York- Redress, while their sworn Enemies surrounded the Throne, and folely commanded my Ear; enough, wherein I recommended " The difthat their uniting in a folemn COVENANT, and rifing in Arms, was rendred necessary by my Administration, and was also agreeable to the Fundamentals of their Constitution, and to the ancient Conduct of their Progenitors in such Cases, and highly necessary to affist the English in afferting and recovering their Liberties and civil Rights, and to restore their Constitution, Or. Nor did I take due Care to break the Arica Union of the Scots Nobility, nor pry'd enough into their Correspondencies with the ENGLISH. Indeed the English were at first but few, yet Men of great Industry and Address, of much Reputation for Probity and Integrity of Life, and wifely concerted their Measures; while my Courtiers were disconcerted, Laud and Strafford becoming obnoxious also to my WIFE, who thought by their Removal to increase her Power and Authority, which yet my Enemies dreaded most of all, as the most dangerous Grievance. But the most confounding Error was my allowing to move the Treaty to London, and to let the Scots Commissioners reside there before a Peace was concluded; for their Clergymen perverted many Thoulands, preaching to vast Crouds about what they call'd the Cause of God, while their Nobility met in Cabals with the Members of Parliament, and instructed them how to be as artful and daring Rebels as themselves. Upon my Return from the North, a certain Puritan, that much affected my Person, plainly told me, that I had unreasorably, unskilfully, and rashly disfolved four Parliaments, which was the Source of all my Troubles; and he wish'd the next did not find me so exhausted and unprovided, as not to allow of a Diffolution, until they had unravell'd all my Reign, and alter'd the prefent Constitution; which was, like a Prophecy, fulfill'd to my woful Experience. And thus while JOHN Duke of BRAGANZA obtains the Crown of PORTUGAL, I begin to lose Three Crowns, and my HEAD too; tho no Man could have thought it, that beheld the Demonstrations of my People's Joy, when I came to LONDON.

On the third of November, 1640, the Long Darliament began at one a clock thirty Minutes, Afternoon: I did not ride with my wonted Equipage and Majesty to the House of Lords, but went privately by Water in my Barge to the Parliament-Stairs, as if it had been after an Adjournment, and not like the Meeting of a new Parliament, which I think was ominous:

" tracted Condition of the Kingdom to the Wildom of the two Houses of Parliament, offer'd to fatisfy all Complaints touching feveral Points of Government, to put my felf upon their Affections, in what concern'd both my felf and the Publick, and promis'd fuch Frankness and Sincerity as might remove all Jealouly; proposing to them, that all Things should be reduced to the Practice of the Time of Queen ELIZABETH; and earnestly defired them, first, to find out proper Means to drive the Bebels from our Frontiers, and next to do it speedily, that the Northern Counties may not fink under the "Oppression of two Armies, that live upon " them, and regard them as Securities to fur-" nish all their Wants." And left all other Things wholly to the Parliament. The Commons no sooner return'd to their House, than they chose Mr. LENTHAL, a Lawyer, to be their Speaker, who was press'd to accept of it. and I gave my Approbation when he was presented to me; for he was my Friend: Tho' it appear'd afterwards, he wanted Courage to fupport the Dignity of his Place, and was too eafily over-power'd; and finding the Members were offended at my calling the Scots Rebeis, I foften'd that Word next Day.

But I foon found this was not like the laft Parliament, and that the moderate Men were now all inflam'd; no pacifick Measures propofed, no trufting to my royal Word; nothing less will please them, than sweeping the House clean above and below, now that they had an Opportunity of making their Country happy, by removing all Grievances, and pulling up the Causes of them by the Roots: For which purpose they procur'd from several parts of England many Petitions against Grievances, and brought them up to London, attended with vast Crouds of male-content People. The Puritans had used much Art in managing the Elections for Parliament-men, as appear'd by the Commons refolving to difable all Projectors and Monopolists from litting in Parliament, whereby several Members well-affected to me withdrew, and others were chosen; but it was more discernable, when the Commons enter'd upon Business (on the 11th of November 1640) and my grand Enemy Mr. Py M had once begun the Debate of Grievances, in an elaborate Speech lamenting the miserable State of the Kingdom, and aggravating whatever had been done amiss in my Administration, as done and contriv'd Nor did I deliver my Speech with Majesty maliciously and deliberately, with a Design to

change the whole Frame of the Constitution: were faluting him upon his Return, as a first ternels, iny Ministry and Favorites, especially one of great Parts, Contrivance and Industry, formerly an earnest Vindicator of the Laws, and a most zealous Champion for the People's Liberties; but, like a true Apostate, now long become the greatest Promoter of Tyranny, that any Age had produced; I mean, faid he, THOMAS Earl of STRAFFORD, by a Survey of whose Conduct in every Station, he will be found the principal 311= tho; and Promoter of all evil Counsels. And Mr. Pym having recounted fome of his Actions, concluded, moving the House to provide a Remedy for this Disease, and to prevent further Mischiefs.

Sir John Clotworthy, a Gentleman of Ireland, and a Member of this Parliament, flood up and rehears'd many Particulars of Strafford's tyrannical Administration and Carriage in Ireland, especially with respect to the Scots, the principal Inhabitants of the North of Ireland, whom the Earl had fworn to extirpate upon his Return; and that he had indanger'd the Lives and Fortunes of all, that submitted not to his very terrible and usurped Authority, in every part of that Kingdom. Upon which, by an Order, the Door was fout (Care being first taken privately to advertise their Friends in the House of Peers to keep them from rising) when Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and some other Yorkspire Men, related Strafford's Milmanagement in the North, with many Instances of his imperious Carriage and Threatnings: At last they agreed, Nemine contradicente (without appointing a Committee, which would have given Strafford leifure to provide for his own Safety, and without one Word spoken in his behalf) forthwith to in peach him.

Strafford was often warned of it, and might have easily staid with the Army at York, or gone to Ireland; but was too confident of my. Favour, of his own Interest with the Peers, and of the good Effects of an humble honey Speech (ashe call'd it) with the Commons, rashly despis'd the Warning, and came to London the Night before (of which Pym was informed) and this Day about two a Clock, hearing both Houses still Lite, He went to ask leave of the Lords to vindicare himself in the House of Commons from the Misrepresentations he lay under; and also to accuse the Lord SAY, and others, of induging the Scots to invade England: But before he could propole it, and even while the Lords

He inlarg'd in my Praises, and laid no Minister and Favorite us'd to be saluted, Mr. Blame to me, but earnestly press'd them to enquire into the Fountain of these Waters of Bitin, and at the Lords Bar, in the Name of all the Commons of England, impeached a Great Deer: of this house, THOMAS Earl of STRAFFORD (with the Addition of all his other Titles) of High Treason, and other beinous Crimes and Misdemeanors, of which they would in due time make Proof; and demanded the Earl might be immediately fequestred from all Councils, and put into fafe Custody: To which the Lords agreed, and he was carried off by the Black Rod, but not fent to the Tower till the 25th, when the Commons sent Mr. Pym to the Lords with Articles of Impeachment. On the 28th, the Commons releas'd Pryn, Burton and Bastavick, from the Islands where I had banish'd them, who enter'd London in Triumph; and on the 10th of. December, Alderman PENNINGTON came with a great Croud, and prefented a Petition, fign'd by 20000 Citizens of London, against Prelacy, Bishops Courts, &c. which influenced the Commons to refolve, on the 15th, against the Power of the Clergy to make Canons, and against all the Acts of the late Convocation, as. illegal, and tending to Faction and Sedition. On the 18th Mr. DENZIL HOLLIS came: up to the Lords, and impeached WILLIAM LAUD. Archbifbep of CANTERBURY of High Treason, by. Order and in the Name of the Commons of England: But my Secretary WINDEBANK, the great Friend of the Papifts, and the Keeper. FINCH, who had been chiefly concern'd in Ship-money, escaped beyond Sea; therefore on the 21st the Commons voted them Traitors. But these Particulars were not so mischievous, as their general Votes, upon the many Petitions. presented, against those that had been any way, actively concern'd in the Nation's Grievances. for many. Years past: For thus all the Lords of my. Council, all who had been Lord Lieutenants and their Deputies, all High Sheriffs and their Deputies, all Collectors of the Revenue, all the Bishops and Clergy-men of the late Convocation, with the Judges, and other Magistrates, found. themselves within the Mercy of those Grand Inquisitors, who design'd to make a Complication of feveral Misdemeanors grow up to High-Treason; whereby many were terrify'd, and. courted them, to avoid Imperchments.

The Common-Council Men of London being before this Christmas chosen all Puritans, the Parliament were encourag'd to borrow Money of the City, for paying the two Armies; and undertook to repay it with Interest (which was the

first Introduction of the publick Faith) and promis'd dom of Scotland, the one against Land (which also to gratify the Citizens, by reforming the was laid by for the present) and the other Church, and by proceeding against Delinquents, Malignants, and Incendiaries; hard Words, they had borrowed from the Scots: Tho' the Money was not paid into my Exchequer, as usual, because of the publick Faith, and the Members being obligated for other great Sums, but lodged with a Committee of the Commons, who had undertook to discharge all publick Engagements; for which they mide a Bill, and I pass'd it into an A& without Consideration, none about me having the Honesty to represent the ill Consequence of it: Nor was I averse to pass the Act a tending it, viz. that for a Triennial Parliament; or in case I should fail, the Lord Keeper and the Chan:ellor of Lancaster were impower'd to convene the Parliament: For which the Commons on the 15th of February, 1642. return'd me Thanks, declaring, that nothing now remain'd, but to testify their Devotion to me, and to make me a glorious King! Nay, I'm now perfunded they were fincere, tho' I could not then trust them, which was my great Misfortune; for the cunning Marquiss HAMILTON advis'd me to make them my fast Friends, by taking them into my Administration, which, he told me, they had adjusted among themselves having already recommended their Friend Oliver St. John to be my general Solicitor: But I could not foon relish that Advice, tho' if I had speedily follow'd it, I should have fav'd my dear STRAFFORD, or at least should have been supported by very able Men, and prevented the Destruction of the Monarchy; whereas I had none about me, who either did not betray me, or fink under the Weight and Reproach of my Affairs.

Strafford on the 23d put in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment, and on the 26th the Commons exhibited Articles against LAUD, who on the first of March was committed to the Fower. Mean while the Sots Commissioners lo lged in the Heart of the City near St. Antholin's Church, which was affign'd for their Devo- possible alledged against him, all his hasty proud tions, where Mr. HENDERSON, and their Expressions, all his Acts of Passion and Power other Chaplains, preach'd on Lord's Days from in Yorkshire, his Projects in Ireland, his Mono-Morning till Night, unto a most frequent Congregation of all Ranks of People, that attended their Ministrations from Love or Curiolity: And while those Ministers were profelyting many Thousands, ROTHES, LOUDOUN, and the other Scots LORDS, were conferring with a Committee of both Houses appointed to contitwo Declarations in the Name of the King- the Council-Table in ENGLAND, after the Dil-III. Interview

against Strafford; and tho' both were very long, they were publickly read in both Houfes, printed and published: They vehemently press'd for Strafford's Trial, intimating, that their Army could not retire (and confequently my Army could not be disbanded) before exemplary Justice was done upon that Great Incendiary; which his Enemies heartily promoted, and influenced both Houses also to make an Order, that upon all Occasions the Scots should be call'd our Brethren of SCOTLAND, and a Resolution of cultivating a fincere Amity and Union between the two Nations.

This unlucky Conjunction partly made me confent to fettle a Committee of both Houles to take preparatory Examinations for Strafford's Trial, contrary to all former Usage, and to examine my Privy Counfellors as Witnesses against him, in what pass'd at the Council Table, which I often repented of; because this rain'd Straford, and for ever banish'd all Freedom of Speech from my Council, which my Enemies chiefly defign'd. Bishop WILLIAM's having artfully mov'd to excuse all Bishops voting in Matters of Blood, the Bishops immediately defired to be excus'd, and feveral LORD's also created fince the Impeachment withdrew: And to, when all was ready, the Trial began on the 22d of March, 1642, in Westminster-Hall, and lasted eighteen Days. The Earl of ARUNDEL fat is Lord High STEWARD pro Tempore, (that being only an occasional Office, and too great a Trust to be continued) the Peers in their Robes fat in the middle of the Hall, the Commons and Strangers of Quality, with the Scors and IRISH Commissioners, on the Seats on either fide, the Managers of the Commons at one End. of the great Scaffold near the Bar, and I and my Wife in a close Box at t'other End, when the brave STRAFFORD was, with the Ax carried before him, brought to the Bar.

His Indictment was read, and every Thing polies of Flax and Tebucco there, Billetting of Soldiers, exercifing of Martial Law, his terrible Proceeding against the Lord MOUNT NORRIS and the Chancellor LOFTUS, his extra-judicial Decisions about Plantations, determining private Interest at the Irish Council Table, his imperious Talk there, at his own Table, and in nue the Treaty of Rippon, to whom they gave publick Assemblies; and lastly, his Words at folition of the last Parliament, viz. Your Majefly baving try'd the Affection of your People, you are absolv'd and loose from all Rules of Government, and may do what Power will admit - You have an Army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience - for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five Months; which were urg'd against him, to make good the general Charge of an Endeavour to oberthzow the fundamental Gobernment of this Kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary Dower. He defended himself with fo much Humility, Learning, and Eloquence, lofing no Advantage, but with amazing Dexterity answering this Charge, and evading that, and justify'd himself with so much ready Wit, as was enough to draw the Esteem and Compassion of his greatest Enemies, who after all could not prove their Charge of High Treason by the Law of England, as Mr. Lane his Advocate plainly shewed, when on the last Day he learnedly argued the Matter of Law: For they had but one Witness, the Secretary VANE, to prove the main Article, which were only Words in Vane's Notes, viz. You have an Army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I'm confident the Scots can't hold out five Months; and Vane swore very dubiously to the Truth and Exactness of his Notes, and was also contradicted by four Lords then present in Council, Hamilton, Northumberland, Cottington, and Dr. Fuxon the Bishop of London, who declar'd upon their Honours, that they did not remember they heard the Earl of Strafford speak those Words; nay, if he had fpoken them, they did naturally refer to Scotland, the Matter in Debate being how to reduce that Kingdom, and not to England, as the Managers falfly alledg'd.

Therefore perceiving their Want of legal Proof, without which he could not be legally condemn'd, the Commons brought in a Bill of Attainder against him, or an Act to taint him by accumulative Treason, putting together several Accusations to form one Crime in the Heap; which Sentence depends more upon the inward Conviction of Parliament-Men, than upon the ontward Evidence of Law, who act then as Legislators, and not like the ordinary Judges below, that must never swerve from the Law one Hair's Breadth, and are ever limited by it; whereas the Parliament, when legal Proof is defective, can proceed by accumulative Proof, by this Act against Strafford the Legislators oblige not themselves ( as it was generally Care of the Scots Army than of them, and had

thought) not to make a Precedent of it, the Clause only relating to the Judges below. This Bill in the House of Commons pass'd on the 21st of April by 139 Votes; and 59 voting against it, had their Names posted by the Mob as Straffordians, or Enemies to their Country, among whom was Lord DIGBY, the Earl of Bristol's Son, who, tho' intirely in my Interest. and never left it, yet in his Speech against the Attainder faid: " The Name of the Earl of "STRAFFORD is a Name of Hatred in the present Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Punishment! I believe him to be a most dangerous Minister, most insupportable to free Subjects. " his Practices in themselves as high, as tyran-" nical, as any Subject ever ventur'd upon, and " the Malignity of 'em highly aggravated by " his rare Qualities, whereof God has given " him the Ufe, but the Devil the Application: "In a word, I believe him still that grand Apostate to the Common-wealth, who must " not expect to be pardon'd in this World, till " he be dispatch'd into the other; and yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my Hand must not " be at that Dispatch, for that I am unsatis-" fied both in the Matter of Law and of Fatt, " the Words not being prov'd by two Witnesses, " nor indeed plainly by one.

The Bill was immediately fent up to the Peers, and next Day in the Scaffold Sollicitor St. John defended it there, faying among other Things, " That in fuch a Bill private Satis-" faction to each Man's Conscience was suffi-" cient, altho' no Evidence had been given: " 'Tis true, we give Law to Hares and Deer, be-" cause they are Beafts of Chace; but it was " never accounted Cruelty, or foul Play, to "knock Foxes and Wolves on the Head as " they are found, because they are Beasts of " Prey.

I was at this time a little amus'd and diverted by a short Interlude, the Marriage of my dear eldest Daughter MARY to the Prince of ORANGE, at White-hall, on the second of May 1641, tho' she was not full ten Years old: I fay it was but short, for the restless Commons pursued still their hateful Game : Yet their Bill of Attainder had never pass'd the House of Peers, if the good Earl of BEDFORD had not dy'd in the interim, tho' much a Puritan; and if the vigilant Mr. Pym had not discover'd the Correspondence between my Court and and according to their Consciences; for even some chief Officers in the English Army, that were angry at the Parliament's taking more

support the Church, and to oppose all that at- moners the Straffordians, calling out for Justice! tempted any new Diminutions of my just Royal- Justice! thrusting themselves rudely upon the vies, &c. Pym on the 3d of M a v gave the Dif- Lords suspected to be against the Bill, declaring covery in general to the Commons (referving aloud they would maintain their late Protesta-Particulars to another Time) of a desperate tion, their folemn Protestation, and the Privileges Conspiracy against the Parliament; and moved the Peers might be desir'd to appoint a Committee to examine Witnesses about it, and to petition the King to grant no Pass for any of his Servants to go beyond Sea, lest the Guilty forty fix Peers in the House, the Bill of A Tshould make their Escape; which was comply'd TAINDER against Strafford pass'd by thirty with. And Mt. PIERCY and Mr. JERMYN, both concern'd in that Correspondence, having on the 4th absconded, most People gave Credit to Pym's Information, who next harangu'd the Commons, " That in order to prevent and " blaft fuch Conspiracies, they should evidence to all the World their Union and Har-" mony, wherein their great Strength stood, by " Duty to God and the King. " This was immediately agreed to, and they forthwith drew a PROTESTATION, much akin to the Scots lected to defend their Rights. Covenant, which was fign'd by most Members of both Houses, and a Bill pass'd for imposing it besieg'd Whitehall, roaring out for Justice ! Juson all the Kingdom on the 5th of May.

I had been also ill advis'd, on the first of May to tell the Parliament in a Speech, that I could not in Conscience consent to the Bill of Attainder, but was so fully satisfy'd of Strafford's Unfitness to ferve me more in any Employment, that I would join in any A& to declare him for ever uncapable of bearing Office in any of my Dominions: For Strafford receiv'd this News as his Doom, faying, the King's Kindnels has ruin'd me, and I have nothing more to do than to prepare myfelf for Death: Nor did he judge amiss; for the Commons resum'd my Speech on the 6th of May, and in great Fury declared " My interceding for Strafford an unparallell'd! Breach of Privilege; that the giving my " Opinion of Bills depending in either House " was to forejudge their Counfels, to prevent " wholefome Laws, and to obstruct Justice; and " that all who have taken, or shall take the " Protestation, were bound to maintain the Pri-" vileges of Parliament, now too grofly inva-" ded and violated." Nay, the Flame foon took hold of the Mob without Doors, who hearing also of my Design to rescue Strafford, by filling the Tower with Soldiers (which the House of Peers and the Governour Balfour prevented) flock'd by Thousands in a riotous manner to the House of Peers, especially on the

offer'd to dispose that Army for my Service, to 7th, roaring against the 59 dissenting Comof the Commons : So that many Peers , being in bodily Fear, withdrew; and the Question being put on the 8th of May, when out of eighty that usually attended, there were but five, eleven only diffenting: Whereas if the Bishops had returned to their Seats with the new Peers, the Bill had been thrown out in all Likelihood; and the Bishops could have well return'd; for tho' their Absence appear'd reasonable while the Tryal was according to Law before his Peers, yet their Votes in this A& of Parliament were as necessary and effential as fome publick Act for the Defence of their the Votes of the Peers. But the Bishops were " Privileges, and the Performance of their punish'd for this their unseasonable, stupid, voluntary, and unjust Withdrawment from Parliament, when most People afterwards neg-

Next Morning a Rabble of many Thonsands tice! with infolent Threats to my very Windows, which made me fummon the Privy-Council, who all pres'd me ( Bishop Juxon excepted ) to pass the Attainder, being all afraid of the new Doctrine, viz. That no Privy Counsellor should presume to advise against the Sense of both Houses. Then I fent for some of the Bishops, to whom I said, It was directly against my Conscience! " But they nicely distin-" guish'd between a private and a publick Con-" science ; that the Conscience of a KING, an. " Husband, and a Father, to preferve his King-" dom, Wife and Children (all which are " now in Danger ) should preponderate the Conscience of a Master or a Friend; that " the Question is not, whether your Majesty " should save the Earl of STRAFFORD, " but whether you should perish with him? " And therefore advis'd me to throw fonds " overboard, for appealing the prefent Storm.

Thus I withstood the Roarings of the People, the Authority of Parliament, the Advices of my Privy Council, of my right Reverend Cafursts, and my learned Judges; but was overcome on the 10th of May by Strafford himself, who perceiving my Strait, and the Rage of the People, that had form'd, as he believ'd, a Plot to cut him off in the Tower, wrote a most passionate Letter to me, and by many Arguments

advised me to pass the Act of Attainder. Then my Counfellors and Casuists pleaded that his free Confent absolv'd me, and that by figning a Commission, my own Hand would not be in it; and so they importun'd me to fign a Commission to Arundel, who immediately attended the House of Peers, and in my Name pass'd the 3ft, and Inother with it, viz. That this present Parliament shall not be diffolv'd but by Act of Parliament, nor prorogued nor adjourned but by their own Confent: Which was represented to me as necessary to ease the Minds of the Londoners, who had lent vast Sums of Money to pay the Armies upon the publick Faith, or the Honour and Justice of the two Houses, which they thought a desperate Security, if the Parliament should be dissolv'd, and would lend no more, until their Security was made good by this Condescension of mine; into which I was also betray'd by the Fools and Knaves about me, who did not explain the dreadful Consequence of this Transaction; tho' it was obvious enough that I virtually refign'd my Soveraignty by this A&, which I included in Arundel's Commission in the Agony of the other Dispatch.

Next Day, the 11th, thinking They would reverence my Son, I fent the Prince of WALES to the House of Peers, desiring the Penalty might be chang'd to perpetual Confinement, or Banishment; which most of the Peers consented to: But the obstinate inexorable Commons would not budge an Inch, faying, after the Earl of EssEx, Stone dead has no Fellow! For they verily believ'd, my great Affection for him would have foon prompted me to remit the Sentence, or to find means of fending him to Ireland, where, at the Head of a gallant Pepish Army, he had laugh'd at the Sentence, and had foon join'd my Friends in England, to the utter undoing of his Enemies, and to put an end to Parliaments for ever; for he was dreaded by all that lov'd the old Englifb Constitution, as a roaring Lyon is by a Flock of Deer. Indeed, I found afterwards, to my great Sorrow, that for all his pressing Letter Strafford expected not that I would pass the Attainder; and that when his dead Warrant came, he faid, with uplifted Hands, Trust not in Princes, for they are Men, they cannot fave! Which made a lasting Impression on my Heart; and I remembred him with Regret, when I was brought to the Block my felf, as Lord CAPEL told me lately he also did, when brought to die the same way, publickly on the Scaffold asking God's Pardon for affenting to the Act of Attainder against Strafford.

They harried on his Execution for fear of a Rescue or Escape; and on the 12th of May, 1641, after fix Months Imprisonment, the great STRAFFORD, having in the Morning pleafantly affur'd his Brother, that last Night he had well endeavourd to get his Countess with Child (who was deliver'd exactly that Day nine Months) and having perform'd his Devotions in secret, was brought to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill about Noon, where with a composed and undaunted Courage he told the People, he was come thither to satisfy them with his Head, but that he much fear'd, the Reformation begun in Blood would not prove so fortunate to the Kingdom, as they expected, and he wish'd: And after he had profess'd to be of the Church of England, and the Protestant Religion establish'd by Law, had avouched his Loyalty to me, and his Affection to the Kingdom, with all feeming Tranquillity of Mind he stript himself naked to the Waste, and lay down on his Belly, with his Chin in the Block, when the Bangman by one Blow of an Ax fever'd his Head from his Body; all the Spectators, even his Enemies, being much affected with the Courage and Christianity of his Death, which Providence brought upon him by the two Things his elate and haughty Soul most despis'd, the People, and Sir Harry Vane; who yet could not have done it, if the indefatigable Pym had not long defign'd it: For He and Pym had been intimate Friends, and violent Opposers of all my Measures in my third Parliament; but when I bought off Sir Thomas Wentworth, he met Pym in Greenwich Park, and founding him about the Dangers They (the Puritans) were expos'd to by their present Courses, and about the Advantages that probably might be offer'd them from Court, Pym stops him short, saying; "You need not use all " this Art to tell me you have a Mind to " leave us; but you are going to be undone; and " remember what I tell you, the' you leave us " now, I will never leave you while your Head " is upon your Shoulders.

At this frightful Time the Lord COTTING-TON relign'd his Place of Master of the Wards, which was given to Lord SAY; and Bishop Juxon that of Treasurer on the 17th of May, which I put into Commission, made the Earl of Leicester the Lord LIEUTENANT of Ireland, the Marquis of Hertford Governor to the Prince of Wales, and the Earl of Essex Lord Chamberlain of my Houshold, in the room of Pembroke. In the Church I preferr'd none but Puritans, as the Bishops Hall, Prideaux, Brownels, and some other zealous Anti-Arminians; as I Ports all shut and guarded, he shelter'd himself had before at the Request of the Peers took Bi-Shop WILLIAM's out of the Tower, revers'd all Proceedings against him, and qualify'd him to fit in the House of Lords, where he soon voted his old Adversary LAUD to be sent to his old Apartment in the Tower. Oh! the Instability of humane Affairs! Yet the Commons took no Care to advance my Revenue as they had promis'd, having only brought in a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, in which I must renounce all Claim to levy that or any other Tax on Merchandize for ever without Confent of Parliament; and the same was granted to me for two Months only, in which Time a new Book of Rates was to be made more for my Profit, when a compleat A& might pass to settle the Customs on me during Life, which yet was never done; for it was postpon'd to an Enquiry after Plots against the Parliament, especially after that mention'd before in general, of which Pym had promis'd to give the Particulars, viz. " A deep Defign to poison the English Army's Affections " towards the Parliament, making the Sol-" diers believe they were neglected, and the " Scots preferr'd before them; to bring up that " Army to London under the Earl of New-Caftle's " Command, in order to over-awe the Parliament, and to spoil the City; to seize the Tow-" er for a Curb upon the City; to prevail with " the Officers of the Scots Army, at least to stand " neuter, while this Tragedy was acting: To " prevent the removing of the Bishops out of " the House of Lords; to preserve and defend " the King's Prerogative to its utmost Extent; " and to settle the Revenue. Nay, Pym said further, " That the King and Queen were both in " this Plot; because the principal Transactors " of it were of the nearest Trust at Court, and " the King had perused a PETITION from " the English Army, containing many sharp In-" vectives against the Parliament, and desiring " the Exercise of Martial Law, with an Offer of their Service for his Majesty's Defence; " (which imply'd, as if he were in Danger) " nay, the more to encourage all the Officers " to fign the Petition, the King had written " upon it C. R. as a Testimony of his Appro-" bation; and that God had favourably fur-" nish'd them with Evidence from some of the principal Contrivers. For tho' Mr. Fermyn, my Wife's most inti-

mate Servant, got fafe to France, Mr. Piercy was discover'd in Sussex, and narrowly escap'd being taken by the Country People, who hurt him by Wound or Bruile; and finding the Sea

at his Brother the Earl of Northumberland's House at Charing Croft, till his Hurt was cured: When the Eurl being mighty desirous of his Brother's Escape, advis'd about it with a confident Friend in Power, that innocently brought Pym into the Consultation; who out-witted them both, by frankly consenting that Mr. Piercy should elcape into France, provided only he would first draw such a Letter to the Earl, as might be an Evidence of the Reality of the Plot: Whereby he destroy'd all his Companions, and furnish'd the Committee of Peers with full Evidence, that had before examin'd Colonel Goring, Sir Faceb Aftley, Sir Fulk Hunks, and O Neal, who confess'd the whole Defign; and whole Examinations exactly agreed with Piercy's Letter, about their meeting at Piercy's Chamber, and the other Premiffes. Therefore all that Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Afbburnham, and Mr. Pollard, Field Officers in the Army, and Members of Parliament, could fay to the contrary, or to palliate the Affair, made no Impression on the People; nor could prevent the Parliament's voting, That there was a real Design to bring up the Army, and force the Parliament; and that Fermyn and Piercy, now both in France, should be accus'd of Bigh Treason. Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard were expell'd the House, Goring receiv'd publick Thanks, the People were fill'd with dreadful Apprehensions of Danger, and generally applauded the Wifdom and Vigilancy of the Commons: Nay, which is worst of all, the Parliament henceforward entertain'd the Opinion, that, for all my Condescensions, I would certainly reduce them by military Force as foon as I could; which Notion they propagated over all the Kingdom to my great Detriment.

GUSTAVUS.

But, pray Sir, tell me plainly, Did you not encourage the faid Project of your English Army? For if you did not, I'm fure you was to blame.

CHARLES.

I frankly own, Sir, I encourag'd it all I could with Safety, but was betray'd by those about me; and being more prone to follow the Opinion of others than my own, I was deterr'd from going immediately to my English Army, to bring them up to London my Self; because they faid the Scots Army had better Officers, were better disciplin'd, and being flush'd with Success, would be able, at least, to divert the English Army, until the Parliament, the City of London, and the Body of the Kingdom, then male-content, and jealous of my Deligns, had

must be baffled with a Vengeance. Tho afterwards I found I was more fear'd than hurt, and that, if then I had had a brave General, of an enterprizing Genius, fincere in my Interest, and expeditious in his Motions (Ob! my dear STRAF-FORD) I might have retriev'd all in one Month: But quos Jupiter vult perdere dementat, God left me to flip that Opportunity, and many others: While by this Discovery my Enemies compass'd many of their Ends, as their folemn Protestation, STRAFFORD's Death, and the Continuance of this Parliament, the Source of all my future Misfortunes; nay, all Overtures for my Revenue were blafted, the general Reverence was leffen'd towards Me and my Wife, the Scots Army was kept in England, and both Houses were incens'd against the Bishops, thinking the Plot was

framed for their Protection. But that Project failing, I began to tamper with the Scots Commissioners about my meeting the Scots Parliament, in order (as was given out) to ratify the Pacification; the really to bring over the Scots Nation to my Interest; because they held the Ballance of Power at this time, and by their Assistance I might do what I pleas'd. With this View, I fent frequent Messages to the Commons to haften the disbanding of the Armies; but fince the Parliament was made perpetual, they infolently neglected my Messages, call'd whom they pleas'd Delinquents, and imprison'd whom they pleas'd, declar'd any Power they affirm'd a Branch of their Privilege, and the oppoling of that Power a Breach of their Privilege; and instead of dispatching the Pacification, the only Obstruction to the disbanding, (which yet could have been done in two Days) they protracted the Treaty, till they had got my Content to every All they propos'd; as, " That to take away the Star-Chamber and the High Commission " Court, the afore-mention'd allt for Tonnage " and Poundage, Unother to ascertain the Meets, Bounds, and Limits of all the Forests in Eng. land, Dne to limit the Office of Clerk in the " Market within the Verge of the Court only " (which was before extended over all England) " whereby the People were freed from many "Controversies and Extortions: Chat to prewent vexatious Proceedings touching the Or-" der of Knighthood, Due for the free making of " Salt-Petre and Gun-Powder within the King-" dom, Another against divers Encroachments and Oppressions in the Stannary Courts, That " against Ship-Money, and Due for a Poll Tax ac-" cording to Mens different Qualities; and other Asse against all supposed Grievances ever since

provided for their own Security; and then I my Father's Accession to the Crown of England; whereby they reduced, what they call'd, the exorbitant Growth of the Prerogative, and like Gold-beaters dealt with the Monarchy, beating it to thin, that it had more Appearance than Subflance: And tho' my Condescensions were thankfully acknowledg'd, even by Sir Edward Deering, a zealous Puritan, who faid in the House, " We " are all bound to the Goodness of his facred " Majesty, God preserve him and his for it; " none of our Bills this Parliament have mif-" carried in his royal Hand: Yet they were not easy, till they impeach'd at the Lord's Bar fix of my Judges, Berkley, Bramston, Crawly, Daverport, Trever and Weston, for many Crimes, particularly, for promoting Ship-Money; when Mr. Hyde, tho' my special Friend, introduced the Charges against them in as warm and pathetick Strains, as any Puritan in the House of Commons could do.

About the same Time the Parliament moved, that my Mother in-law, the most Illustrious. MARY de MEDICIS, should depart out of England, after the had refided there about three Years, and had cost me every Day 100 Pounds. You know she was the Widow of HEN. IV. of France, and the Mother of LEWIS XIII. of my Wife also, and of the Queen of Spain; yet having been unfortunate in her Regency, and becoming Richelieu's Enemy, by favouring the House of Austria, her own Son had banish'd her from France; and being debarr'd returning thither, or retiring to the Dominions of Spin, or of the Hollanders, for fear of offending Richelieu, the Commons rigg'd her out with 10000 % and she retir'd to Cologne, where she liv'd the rest of her Days very obscurely.

At length the Time approaching for my Journey to Scotland, I fent a Message to both Houles to haften the Bill of Pacification; but the Commons being against my Journey retarded it, by reviving the Bill for Extirpation of Prelacy, Deans and Chapters, &c. that had been laid afide, and was now again laid afide: For this Parliament were yet far from being Presbyterians, whatever they became afterwards: They were still for the Function, tho' not for the Perlons of some of the Bishops; none of the Peers were reputed Enemies to the Prelatical Church, except Lord SAY and Lord BROOK, who had a Gineva Education; nor were any of the Commons against the Church Root and Branch, not even Pym and Hollis, who were only Church Puritans, fave Mr. Nathaniel FIENNES, young Sir Harry VANE, and shortly after Mr. HAMDEN; but all except those three were

Hill for Bishops and Common Prayer, and only for for a Triennial Parliament, and that the Members fuch Regulations in the Church as might render of Council, and all the great Civil Officers should the Kingdom easy, the Church more united to the other Reformed Churches, and prevent the Bilbops from being Tools of State for the future. I fay, they retarded the Act of Pacification by that Bill, and by Debates of Jealousies and Fears, foreign Invalions, Papists Insurrections, my Wife's Plots, &c. To provide against which, they proposed to have the Militia put into their Power, but were disappointed; and the Proposal being generally dislik'd, slept till the beginning of the Wars. And when they could not prevent my Journey, they met on Sunday (tho' unusual) the 8th of August: And having finish'd the Bill of Pacification, I pass'd it into an Act next Day; made Essex my Lieutenant General South of Trent, to make my Enemies easy; and left London on the 10th of August 1641, attended by the Prince Elector, by the Duke of Lennox, now made Duke of RICHMOND, the Marquis HAMILTON, and a Committee of Parliament, viz. Lord Howard of Escrick, Mr. HAMDEN, and Sir PHILIP STAPLE-TON, who were no better than Spies. In my way to Edinburgh I review'd both Armies, found the English hearty for me, and the Scots very susceptible of loyal Impressions: For these knew well enough, that tho' the English Parliament had paid them for about 13 Months at the Rate of 25000 l. per Month, they must withdraw, now that the Parliament had granted to the Kingdom of SCOTLAND 300000 !. for their Expences and Damages in the Cause of England, fince the Pacification of Duns. At last Money being rais'd, the Scots return'd home, the English Army was disbanded, and also the Army in Ireland, at the pressing Instances of the Irifo Committee. But the Earl of Holland, whom I made the General for the disbanding, wrote some Tales of me to the Earl of Essex from York, about my perverting the Army; which being read in both Houses, reviv'd their Fears, and made them join in an Order for difarming the Popists in England, because they were all my Friends. After which, the Members wanting a Refreshment at their Country Seats, the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of October.

My Reception at PDINBURGH was very magnificent and promifing : I agreed at the opening of the Scots Parliament, that none should fit there, till they had fign'd the Covenant, and I concurr'd immediately in the Pacification, and in an Act of Oblivion, to pardon the Crimes of all Sides. I confented to the Act for fending 10000 Scots Foot into Germany for the Elector; to Chat were fled to their Castles, having publish'd their

be nominated by Parliament; that the Privy Council should be the Conservators of the Peace between the Kingdoms, and in my Absence should act in my Name; nay, I affented to all their Limitations: Nor was I backward to oblige them in Matters Ecclesiastical, but agreed to an Att confirming all the Acts of their late general Assemblies; and to Another, declaring the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops to be contrary to the Word of God, condemning them as Enemies to the Propagation of the true Protestant reformed Religion, utterly abolishing them, and giving their Revenues to the Crown. In short, they had whatever they delir'd, and many Things beyond their Expectations; as when I made Hugh Campbell Lord Loudoun an Earl, and High Chancellor of Scotland, their great General Alexander LESLEY I made Earl of LEVIN, and made their Lieutenant General Leving ston Earl of Ca-LENDER, without Offence to the ancient Nobility, because they were both nobly born. Nay, I divided the Bishops Rents, and a great deal of the Crown Rents among those Covenanters; believing their Promises, that they would never again rife against me, but constantly adhere to me, until I had retriev'd my Soveraignty in England; while I promis'd never to rip up old Sores, nor endeavour to deprive them of what they had obtain'd, nor defire them to do any Thing inconsistent with their Covenant: Yet I was perplext, that I could obtain nothing for my best Friends, the Anti-Covenanters, but only the Benefit of the general Pardon.

While I was in Scotland, two strange Things happen'd, First, the Earl of MONTROSE in Opposition to the Earl of ARGYLE left the Covenanters; for these two were like Cafar and Pompey, the one would endure no Superior, and the other no Equal. Montroje met me privately, and inform'd me of the Covenanters Correspondents in England, who had either invited, or encourag'd the late Expedition of the Scots Army, and affar'd me, I could never recover my Sovereignty, while those Men were in the English Parliament; but particularly inform'd me, that HAMMILTON was as guilty of corresponding with the English, as ARGYLE, and offer'd to prove it in Parliament; yet advis'd me, rather to have them both made away, which he frankly undertook to do: When fuddenly, on a Sunday Morning, the City of Edinburgh was up in Arms, and Hammilton and Argyle

Oblivion had pass'd. But tho' I pacify'd all Things quickly there, creating Hammilton a DUKE, and Argyle and Montrofe MARQUESSES; yet the English Committee at Edinburgh, by Letters that reach'd London on the 19th of Offober, to frightned the English Parliament, that next Day when they met, being apprehensive of Danger, they got Essex to appoint a competent Guard

of the Train'd Bands for their Security.

But the other Accident, like an impetuous Hurricane, drove all before it, made a lasting deep Impression on the Minds of People, and prov'd of infinite Disadvantage to my Affairs, which were then recovering new Life; I mean the Bebets tion of the Papists in IRELAND, who in a short Time maffacred many thousand Protestants there. To understand this, you must know, that the Native IRISH could not be converted by Queen FLIZABETH, tho' fhe affum'd the Disposal of the Bishepricks, and other Church Livings, and by her Irish Parliament (which the Natives call'd a pack'd Convention; because very few of the ancient Peers were there, or the leading Commoners) enjoin'd her new Oath of Supremace, utterly to abolish the Pope's Jurisdiction; and tho' instead of the Mass, she had establisht her Book of Common Prayer with severe Penalties. For these being fraudulently obtain'd were not much executed, till after the Spanift Armado was defeated Anno 1588, when those penal Statutes were very rigorously executed; which exasperated the Earl of Tyrone to head the other Irish Nobility and great Gentry in an open War, that lafted till she was expiring; when her Deputy Lord Montjox artfully perswaded Tyrone, and his Confederates, to accept of a general Amnesty, with the free Exercife of their Religion, and a full Enjoyment of their Estates; which was confirm'd next Summer by her Successor my Father, when Tyrone submitted to him in Person, and was honourably receiv'd at Court: For my Father lov'd the ancient Irish Nobility, and they believ'd it, as much as that he wrote to Pope CLEMENT VIII. with his own Hand, of his Inclination to become a Roman Catholick, and to reduce the two Churches of Great Britain to their old Allegiance to Rome, when once he was settled on the English Throne. But CECIL having artfully procured my Father's Letters from the Pope's Cabinet, and deliver'd him from that Pain, influpals very levere Laws against them; which Plot heard of my consenting to make the English

Fear of being affassinated; and the Parliament was owing to Cecil and 13 Papists of desperate thunder'd in their Behalf, because the Ast of Fortunes; while all the English Papists suffer'd for that Folly. Cecil carried on the like Delign in Ireland by Chriftopher St. Lawrence, who invited the Earls of Tyron B and Tyrconnel, the Lord of DELVIN, and many more to a Meeting; wherein having first made them take an Oath of Secrecy, he told them, "He was fure " the State had resolv'd to force the Irish Ca-" tholicks to become Protestants, and that the " impending Mischief could not be prevented. " but by a general Infurrection." But tho' they unanimously rejected the Proposal for many good Reasons, yet St. Lawrence discover'd them to the DERUTY, and charged them with a treasonable Conspiracy; who being examin'd before the Council at Dublin, deny'd the whole Matter, till they faw St. Lawrence appear to confront them, when they owned what is above related; and each one examin'd apart, giving the same Evidence, and nothing appearing against them, save one single Witness, St. Lawrence, the Council did not think fit to commit them, but order'd them to appear again next Day. In the mean time, some of their pretended Friends in the Council advis'd them, under hand, to fave themselves, for fear of being imprison'd till some other corrupted Witnesses might be found, which, they were affur'd, was defign'd. This Knavish Advice the forefaid Noblemen foolishly took, and so by their Flight they took Guilt upon themselves, and were declared Rebels; whereby they loft their own Estates, with fix intire Counties forfeited to the Crown in the Province of ULSTER; which without further Hearing or Trial were feized upon, and divided among the English and Scots Protestants, with the Proviso, that those Lands should never be possest by Irish P pists, and St. Lawrence turn'd Protestant to share in the Spoil. The Earl of STRAFFORD also found Flaws in the Titles of several Irish Gentlemen to their ancient Estates in LEIN-STER, MUNSTER, and CONNAUGHT, and feiz'd them, under pretence of ferving me, but really to inrich himself and his Creatures; particularly, the whole Territory of Idough in Kilkenny County Anno 1635, upon no other pretence, but that HEN. II. was intitled to it above 500 Years before.

Such frequent, male Treatment by all English Governours, good and bad, made the Native Irish believe the Protestants had resolved to exenc'd him to discountenance the English Papists; tirpate their whole Nation, or force them to renay, upon account of the pomber plat to nounce their Religion; especially, when they

Par-

III Interview.

ving me into many Condescentions, without the Lord MACGUIRE, MACMAHON, with being able to stop their career. For then the Protestants of Ireland fram'd a Petition to the English Parliament, and got it fign'd by many thousand Hands, praying, That the Irish Papists might be forced, either to turn Protestants, or abjure the Kingdom, or be hang'd at their own Doors: Which being discover'd to the Natives of Ulfter by Mr. PRIMROSE, a Protestant Minister, they complain'd of it to the Judges in Circuit, and to other Magistrates, but to no purpose: Whereby their Apprehensions of Danger were heightned over all Ireland, and the rather, because the Lords Justices, Sir William Parfons and Sir John Borlafe, were rank Presbyterians, and had openly declared for the English Parliament; from whom therefore the Papists expected no Redress, nor was I in condition to protest them. The Irish Papists thus abandon'd on all Sides, faw no Security but in Arms, which they call'd a Desperate Remedy for a Desperate Disease; but were the more capable to use it, that Strafford had permitted them to provide themselves with Arms; nay, had almost a whole Army of em standing for some Years, who upon the late Disbanding were not allow'd to serve any foreign Prince. And now perceiving my Enemies Designs in England, I sent private Instructions by the Marquis of ANTRIM to the Earl of OR MOND, my Lieutenant General in Ireland, to concert Measures with my other loyal Subjects there, how to feize upon the Puritan Lo R D s Justices (my Deputy LEICESTER being in England) to take Possession of the Government, to declare for me against the Proceedings of the English Parliament, and so to cast the Ballance, and refcue the Monarchy from impending Ruine. OR-MOND communicated my Message to a select Number of my Friends both Protestants and Papists, who agreed to execute it on the 16th of some Irish Gentlemen came over privately to November 1641, when the Irifo Parliament was to meet: But tho' Ormand earnestly desir'd this might be kept fecret from the Aborigines or the Old Irish, especially from those of Ulster, that had forfeited the fix Counties, for he was their fecret Enemy; yet it was discover'd, and they were incensed at the Concealment, thinking themselves as good as Ormond, and being as zealous for my Service as he could be. They enter'd for the same Ends, therefore, into a Conspiracy to be before-hand with him, and, indeed, to go far beyond my Instructions to him or ANTRIM, which they repented of at leifure.

The 23d Day of October being appointed by

Parliament perpetual, and of my Enemies dri- to get the fart of Ormand and his Party, feveral others, undertook then to feize upon the Caffle of Dublin and the Lords Justices; but prevented, being betray'd the very Night before by one O CONELLY of their Number, and Mac Guire being taken, was fent a Prisoner into England. But Sir Phelim Dnetl, and other Chiefs in Ulfter, the Northern Province of Ireland, not knowing what had happened at Dublin, pun&ually observ'd the said Day for a General Insurrection, immediately furpriz'd Charlemont Castle and other Garrisons, and barbaroufly murder'd many thousand Protestants, before these knew their Danger, or could provide for their Defence : And because many of the Natives retain'd some Love to the Scots and English among them, and so could not at first be seduced into the Massacre, their Chiefs perswaded them to it, by declaring, " They " took up Arms for the Defence of the King " and of his lawful Prerogative against the Pu-" ritanical Parliament in England, which had " invaded it in many Parts; that the Queen had " influenc'd the King to favour the Irish Natives and Catholicks; and that what they did " was by his Majesty's Approbation and Autho-" rity (tho' I knew nothing of it): Nay, to gain the more Credit, they produc'd a Commifsion of mine dated at Elinburgh the 1st of Offober 1641, with the BROAD SEAL to it; tho' they only took it from off a Patent or Grant of Lord CAULFIELD's at Charlemont, and fixed it to their Sham Commission: Yet the ignorant Irish Aborigines believing all to be gennine, rose all up to Arms with the fecret Word LILLY BUR LAIRO, to which the Answer was made Bullin Allaa, and whoever could not speedily make that Answer were flain forthwith.

These Things I understood not at first, until London, to inform me thereof; and how that tho' the Lords Justices had issued several Proclamations against the Rebels in Ulster, they took not due Care of suppressing that Insurrection, being defirous to have the Contagion infect the whole Kingdom, for the fake of Irish Forfeitures, which they graspt at now, by means of this illegal and rebellious Conduct of the Aborigines, contrary to the Scheme I had fent to Ormond. I knew not of the Attempt of Lord MACGUIRB upon Dublin; but from the North of Ireland an Express arriv'd to me, and another to the Marquis of ARGYL B at Edinburgh, lignifying there was a General Infurrection made there under Sir these Conspirators to execute their Plot, and so | Phelim Oneil, who had also begun a Massacre;

which Letters I transmitted immediately to the " and Ammunition, and soon after even Protwo Houses of the English Parliament. The Lords Fuffices and Conneil at Dublin wrote what had happened there (by O Conelly that made the Discovery) to my DEPUTY at London, who immediately communicated the Affair to the Commons (the Lords being adjourn'd) that were in great Consternation, not knowing how to act or what to fay, till my Scots Express arriv'd in two Days after O Conelly, fignifying, " That I was fure it was no rash Insurrection, " but a form'd Rebellion, that must be reduced " by a sharp War, which I left to their Care and Wifdom; and that for the present I " had order'd a strong Regiment of 1500 Foot with good Officers from Scotland for the Re-" lief of Ulfer. This Letter of mine was very welcome, and was improved for appointing a Committee of both Houses to meet every Day in the painted Chamber with my DEPUTY, in great State, about the Affairs of Ireland, and to provide Men, Arms, and Money for suppressing that Rebellion: Whereby the Parliament commenced to usurp a separate Power without me, to inforce their Ordinances like legal Statutes; and thus also acquired a large Dependance, all Men applying to the Chief Managers for Preferment in the War intended; the Mischief whereof, tho' little minded at first, I felt very sensibly afterwards.

The News of this Rebellion, like a most dreadful Thunder-stroke, was brought into England by many good People fled out of Ireland from the Face of the Murderers (among whom was the learned and pious archbishop Usher) who all folemnly averr'd, "That the Protestant Women were rip'd up and treated most filthi-14, Infants were us'd like Toads and Ver-" min, Thousands were driven together into " Rivers, or cast over Bridges and drowned, " Parents ty'd in Chairs to fee their own Chilu dren roafted on Spits, or forced to turn the " Spits, and then murder'd by a Variety of " Deaths, according to the Hellish Tafte of " the Irifb Papifts; that many had fworn beto fore the Lords Justices, how at Port-downce Bridge every Day the Passengers had a Vi-" fion of naked People standing up to the midat dle in the River, and crying out, Bebenge! " Rebenge! So that by their Account, no fuch barbarous inhuman Massacre can scarce be found in History. On the other hand, .fome Irifb Papists, who were not in the Rebellion, came over and affur'd me, that " They and their " Adherents had offered their Service to the IH. Interview.

tettion; were plunder'd, and many of 'em " kill'd by the Soldiers without Provocation: " So that to be only a Papist was Crime enough " to draw down the heaviest Vengeance. Nay, " the Earl of CASTLEHAVEN was impri-" fon'd many Months for speaking in their be-" half, and it was believ'd his Head would have paid for it, but that he happily made his " Escape; and Sir JOHN READ (one of my sworn Servants) who had promis'd to repre-" fent their Grievances to the King, was feiz'd on by the Lords Justices at Dublin, as he was " going for England, and barbaroufly tortur'd " upon the Rack, to squeeze some Things out " of him for accusing the King, or the QUEEN, " of the Irib Passacre, but to no purpose: " that the Papifts were dealt with now as fe-" verely by the Protestants, as these had been " by the Papists, at least, that as many of the " one fort had been kill'd in cold Blood, as of " the other, tho' the genuine Account was industriously kept from England by the Lords Justices; else it had appear'd, that there " were not then 200000 Protestants in all Ulster, and that not above the 4th part were kill'd on " both fides: That therefore the Body of the Aborigines (which were the Body of the Island) were brought under the Necessity of uni-" ting in their own Defence; and the Chiefs af-" sembling at Kilkenny, had boldly enter'd into an Affociation, or a fort of Ppifb Covenant, under the Name of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, and raised a good Army, in order to extirpate the Protestants, and their Herely, " out of Ireland the shortest Way, to recover the ancient Inheritances of their Fathers, to resume their Freedom, and to be as independent of England, as the Kingdom of Sotland is. That yet to vindicate themselves from the Imputation of Rebellion, they had " publish'd a Manifesto of their Reasons for " taking Arms, declaring themselves the faith-" ful Subjects of his Majesty CHARLES King of BRITAIN and IRELAND, and the avowed Abhorrers of the English Parliament's " Proceedings; nay, as a further Demonstration of their Loyalty and Sincerity, they took themselves, and impos'd upon all their " Party, such a new Oath of Allegiance, as did " fully express their Duty and Fidelity to the " King, and yet was consistent with the Prin-" ciples of their Religion; and had also resol-" ved to fend Commissioners to the King in " England, to affure his Majesty of their Love "Lords Justices, but had been refused Arms " and Loyalty, and to represent their Grievances under the Tyranny of the Lords Ju- to much dislik'd the bot Proceedings of the Par-

" flices.

When therefore I found my Affairs grow worfe and worfe in England, I own, I fent private Orders to my truky Friend the Marquis of ANTRIM, then in Ireland, to influence the Irish Army in their Duty and Affection to me, not knowing what occasion I might have for their Service another Time: And tho' I never gave them any Commission or publick Encouragement, they carried on the War with the firm Belief of my fecret Approbation, and that if I succeeded against the English Parliament, they should not be undone, whereas if the Parliament prevail'd against me they look'd for Extirpation. Indeed my Correspondence with them was shrewdly suspected; and tho' my Orders to ANTRIM were not publickly known in my Time, he was wife enough to preferve any Thing under my Hand, and (as Lord MATARIN has told me in Elysium) he has recover'd his forfeited Estate, by producing my Letter and Orders to my Son CHARLES, Anno 1663, to his Privy Council, and to the House of Commons, who all found he had my Confent and Instructions for what he did; tho' the Earl of OR-MOND oppos'd him all he could, having ever suspected that Antrim had reveal'd to Sir Phelim Oneil, and the Gentry of Ulfter, my first Orders, the Concealment of which had exasperated them to take the Honour of affifting me out of his Hand, or to take the flart of him in their nonfenfical and barbarous Method, the Reproach of which fell most unjustly upon me: But it was good for me, that many of the Nobility and Gentry did not then understand my Orders to Antrim, nor my Esteem for the native Irish, and my Expectations from them; for elle I should not have been so well affished in the subsequent Wars: As Mazarine has also told me it was gravely averr'd by Mr. Hy DE Earl of Clanendon, and feveral more of my old Friends, when Antrim recover'd his Estate and Honours, who, he faid, were all then equally forpriz'd at my faid Orders to Antrim, and at my Son CHARLES'S Clemency to him. However, my reftless Enemies had artfully furmis'd, that the Maffacte could never have been without my feeret Leave and Confent; by which, with the private Accounts fent by the Lords Justices to their Party in England, the Clamours of the Protefants in Ulfter, and the Mileries of the Refugees, most of 'em having averr'd the Irish Rebels had bragg'd they acted by my Authority, it came to be much believ'd, and the Minds of good People were greatly diffurb'd, who had hither-

liament; tho' feveral Persons of Credit detected. the Fraud; particularly Dottor MAXWELL, an eminent Divine, deposed upon Oath, that " while he was their Prisoner, he ventur'd to ex-" postulate with them for abusing the King in so gross a Manner; to whom they own'd the " Truth, and reply'd, that in all Wars, Bumours, and Lies, fero'd many Times to as good a Purpose as 3rms: Nor could my Enemies prevail with Lord MAC GUIRE Anno 1644, when executed at London, to fave his Life and Estate, by accusing me of the Massacre, but he vindicated me with his dying Breath: And as I have heard in Elyfum, Sir PHELIM ONEIL has done the same, when executed at Dublin Anno 1653, who clear'd my Reputation before CROMWELL'S High Court of Justice, that offer'd him his Life, Estate and Liberty, if he would own, the Northern Insurrection was made by Commission from King CHARLES I. But these Things did not immediately appear, and my Enemies could the more eafily increase the common People's Belief of my being the Author of the Irifb Maffacre; because not before the first of January, 164!, I proclaim'd them Rebels, yet gave a strict Charge, that no more than 40 of that Proclamation should be printed, and that none of 'em bould be publish'd till my Pleasure was further signify'd; and when I order'd the Lords Justices to issue a Proclamation of Pardon to all without Exception, that would submit in 40 Days after its Publicition; (tho' the Justices basely excepted all Men of Estates, and all that did not repair to Dublin in ten Days, which they knew was impossible) and when afterwards I stopt the Provifions, Arms, and Money fent from England to the Protestants in Ireland; when I delay'd to give leave, as King of England, to the Scots Army to go for Ireland, without which leave the Scots had been guilty of an Invation; when I gave Warrants to eminent Papifts to pals into Ireland, after the Parliament had shut the Sea Ports; when I entertain'd at Oxford the Commissioners of the Irish Papists with much more Respect than those of the Irish Protestants, and often corresponded with them: I fay, most of the common People then concluded, that the I might have no Hand in the Maffacre, I fecretly prompted the Infurrection in Ireland, and that I affected not to ruine the Irish Natives (who lov'd me pasfignately) nor to disable them from affifting me another Time, of which they gave me frequent Allurances

But to return: I left Scotland an easy | diet of a flared fury; when Ham DEN moved and contented People, and arriv'd fafe at Lon- to print it, which with some Struggle was also don on the 25th of November 1641; was well carried; whereby they shew'd their Delign was pleas'd passing through the Streets with the Peo- not to fend it up to the Peers, but to make it an ple's joyful Acclamations, and was splendidly entertain'd, with my WIFE, Son CHARLES, and many Lords and Ladies, by my good Friend Mr. Gourney the Lord Major, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, when the Recorder made me a fine Speech; whereby I now judged, that the late Tumults were made only by the meanest of the People; for the better fort attended me in Triumph to Whitehall. Oh! what Man, who had feen this Day's Pomp, could have imagin'd, that in fix Weeks I should leave London for its rebellious Tumults, never to fee it again, but as a condemn'd Prisoner brought to bleed upon a Scaffold! I went next Day to Hampton-Court, about 12 English Miles up the Thames, where I dismiss'd Sir Harry Vane from my Service (as I ought in Prudence to have made a greater Reform, by removing several more) and the Commons Guards from Westminster, and issued a Proclamation to obey the Laws already establisht for the Exercise of Religion; because a Bill for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and the Clergy of Temporal Offices, had pass'd the Commons without Opposition before my Return, and was fent up to the Peers; who, tho' not hafty in passing it, allow'd it to be argued at their Bar by some eminent Common-Laguyers; for these were most of 'em exceedingly disgusted at the Bishops, and the late Jurisdiction of the Laudean Clergy, especially for their endeavouring to exalt the Ecclesiastical Courts above those of Common Law, which I own was very imprudent and provoking.

And now the good Humour being suppress'd, in which the Houses were dispos'd to meet, Mr. STRODE, a herce Man, mov'd to revive the Committee for drawing a General Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom for my Reception; which being reported to the House, was at first generally diflik'd as unnecessary; because I had already granted every Thing they defired for redreffing Grievances; and as unfeafonable thus to receive me home with fuch a Volume of Reproaches: But my Enemies infinuating, that without it all the good Acts they had gain'd would be loft, with doubtful Glances on my Concern in the Irish Rebellion, whereby many good Men were amus'd; they prevail'd to have it reconsider'd, and it endur'd a Debate with much Passion for near 20 Hours, and after mamy of my Friends were gone for Faintness, it only by nine Voices, like the Ver-

Appeal to the People for infuling Jealousies and Fears. OLIVER CROMWELL was then a Member, tho' not yet a first Rate Man, but a warm Stickler for the Remonstrance, and plainly told Lord FALKLAND, that if it had been rejected, he would have fold all his Effects next Morning, and gone off the Kingdom with many others : So that now was the Crisis of the Kingdom's Deliverance or Destruction.

On the 1st of December, 1641, a Committee of the Commons waited on me with the faid Remonstrance and a Petition; wherein, after congratulating my fafe Return, they declar'd The Necessity of the Remonstrance, without "the least Intention to lay any Blemish upon " my Royal Person, but upon a malignant Party in my Council and Family, that have corrupted several of my Bishops, and influenced the late expensive Wars, and the present Irish Rebellion; and therefore pray'd, that the " Papists might be suppress'd, the Bishops depriv'd of their Votes in Parliament, Innova-"tions in Religion remov'd, with unnecessary " Ceremonies, that hinder the Union of Protestants; that the Laws be duly executed for " fecuring the Liberty of the Subject; to re-" move Evil Counfellours, and employ such as " the Parliament can confide in; not to alie-" nate the Irish Lands, that will be now forfeit-" ed to the Crown, &c." Concluding thus: Which humble Defires of ours being graciously fulfill'd by your Majesty, we will, by the Blessing and Favour of God, most chearfully undergo the Hazard and Expences of the Irish War, and apply our selves to such other Courses and Counsels as may Support your Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad; and by our loyal Affections, Obedience and Service, lay a sure and lasting Foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of your Majesty and your Royal Posterity in future Times. Then the large Bes monttrance was read, a rough Performance both for Matter and Expression, containing all the illegal Things done from my Father's Death to that Minute, not one Grievance omitted, even such as I had redress'd, with sharp Reflections on my Wife and Council; every Error and Misfortune of Government, or any painonate Exercise of legal Power, with most pathetical Expressions to affect the People; magnifying their own Services in preparing Remedies for those Evils, slightly passing over my

Conde centions, and bitterly inveighing against " whom I requir'd their timely Aid and active the malignant Party, as the living Grievances and the Causes of all the others, &c. Declaring also, They meant to have a National Sy-NOD to consider of Ecclesiastical Affaire; that " they would purge and reform the Universities, and would cultivate a more strict Union be-

tween England and Stotland, &c.

When the long Libel was read out, tho' much vex'd at the Harshness of it, I told the Committee, The Commons should have my Answer as foon as the Weight of the Business would permit; and fill then I hop'd they would not publish it. I came next Day, and pass'd the Act of Tonnage and Poundage; and finding, by an Order of the Commons, the Petition and Remonstrance were printed, publish'd and dispers'd thro'out the Kingdom, to my great Prejudice, I answer'd in a few Days the Petition, telling the Commons, " How sensible I was of their Disrespect, " in publishing their unparliamentary Remon-" france, after I had requested the contrary, " whereof I referved to my felf to take fuch " Course as I should think fit: That if I knew " any of that malignant Party, I should be as " ready to punish them, as they the Commons " were to complain: That the' I could in no " wife admit the Ground of their Petition, yet " would readily concur with the Parliament Mean while, by those Contentions poor IR E-" against Pepery; but I bid them consider, that " the Right of the Bishops to Vote is grounded " on the fundamental Law of the Kingdom, " and the Constitution of Parliament: That I " would not protect the Clergy in any Usurpa-"tions, or Excesses of Jurisdiction, tho' I " thought the demolishing of the High Commif-" fion Court had well moderated this: That I " would willingly concur in the Removal of any " illegal Innovations in Religion; and if the " Parliament advise me to call a National Sy-NOD, I would consider of it; but that I " thought there was no Ground for their gene-" ral Charge of Corruption in Religion, being in " my Conscience perswaded that no Church up-" on Earth professeth more Piety of Doctrine than the Church of England, nor where the " Government and Discipline are jointly more " beautify'd and free from Superstition, than as they are here establish'd by Law, which, I faid, " by the Grace of God I would with Constancy " maintain while I lived in their Purity and Glo-" ry, not only against all Innovations from Po-" pery, but also from the Irreverence of Schif-" maticks and Separatists, now much abounding, " to the great Dishonour and Hazard both of

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Affistance: That I knew none of my Counfellors' who deserv'd their Character, and had enough shewn already, that I would leave any Man, tho' ever so dear to me, to the Justice of the Law, but wish'd them to forbear general Aspersions, without naming Particulars: That the I can employ whom I please, I should be careful to choose the most unexceptionable; and thought it not feafonable to declare any Resolutions about Irish Forfeitures before the Events of the War be feen; yet concurr'd to suppress the Irish Rebellion, all the Interests of England being involved in it; and therefore press'd them to Expedition, because of the daily Encrease and Insolence of the Rebels: And, lastly, That their Conclufion was but suitable to their Profession of Loyalty, and by me deserved for what I had " done already, and should farther do for the Comfort and Happiness of my People.

You may perceive, Worthy Gustavus, I was not so condescending as before I went to Scotland, being now more capable to contend with the Commons, who were not pleas'd to fee the Lord MAIOR (now Sir RICHARD COURNEY) obtain an Address to me, from the Court of Aldermen, to reside at Whitehall. LAND continued the Scene of Murder, and Protestant Blood and Gore; and the Commons finding it difficult to raise Volunteers for that Service, form'd a Dieffing Bill, pass'd it, and fent it up to the Peers, in which it was affirm'd, That the King had no Authority to press the Freeborn Subject, except only in Cofe of a Foreign Invasion; and the Peers disapproving of this Clause, the Commons took Huff, laid aside the Consideration of Ireland, and declar'd the Lefs of that Kingdom must be imputed to the Peers. Oh! How infatuated was I in not boldly taking the Relief of Ireland then wholly into my own Hands, to manage it by my Council, while I had the Peers on my fide! But I was left to follow the Advice of others, to go to Parliament on the 14th of December 1641, and acquaint them, " That tho' the Bill for Preffing Sildiers " infringed on my Prerogative, I was, to zealous " for the Recovery of Ireland, that to avoid Debates and Quarrels I would pass it with a Dalbo Jute:" For this reconcil'd the two Houses, that will always agree in Point of Privilege, and join'd in a Petition to me, " To " Protect them in their ancient and undoubted "Right, viz. that the King should take no no-" Church and State, for the Suppression of " tice of any Matter in Agitation in either " House

they faid, had been violated by my last Speech, " defiring also to know my Advisers, in order to bring them to condign Panishment." Upon this I fent Effex with an Offer to give Commissions to raise 10000 English Volunteers, which was wholly rejected; for they dreaded, that fuch an Army, rais'd by my Direction, might be at my Devotion, and foon put an End to Parliaments.

At the same Time also an obscure Member mov'd the Commons, as it were, by mere Chance, "That confidering the Diforders upon the late Disbanding, and the Rebellion of Ireland; Whether the Militia of England was fo " fettled by Law, that a fufficient Poffe could be suddenly rais'd for the Kingdom's Defence, upon a foreign Invalion, or an Insurrection at Home? My Friends in the Houle were for preventing a Committee being appointed to confider it, affirming the Power of the Militia to refide in the King, in whom the Rights of War and Peace were invefted; till St. John affirm'd the contrary, because the Commisfions the King had given to Lord Lieutenants, their Deputies and Officers for that Effect " had been voted Illegal; and feeing they could neither be executed, nor obey'd for the future, that there was a Defect of Power, which ought to be supply'd." Thus it appear'd the Motion was not fortuitous, but defign'd, and St. John was order'd to prepare a Bill, which was once read, and laid alide for a

more opportune Season. I fuddenly turn'd out Sir WILLIAM BALFOUR from being Lieutenant of the Tower, who, for preventing Strafford's Elcape, was in great Esteem with the Commons ; and on the 23d of December put in Colonel LUNS FORD, whom I could well truft, but so could not the Commons; nay, they made me uneafy, till in a few Days I remov'd him, and put in Sir JOHRBYRON, tho' not by their Recommendation. The Pulpit and the Press were both employ d against me, many of and cry'd down Antichzistian Prelacy in the most frequent Congregations, while the Commons protected the Authors of most virulent Pamphlets against my self, my Family, and Admi-Nay, in the Name of the Londonnistration. Interview.

House but by their Information, nor should Commerce may be more cultivated; and by divers propose any Alteration therein; which Right, other Methods they animated the London-Mob to flock to the House of Peers (where the Bill against the Bishops lay asleep) roaring No Bishops, no Bishops; and because the Earl of Do Rs & T Lieutenant of Middlesex commanded the Train'd-Bands (that I had appointed to guard both Houses) to fire upon the Mob, the Fear of which dispers'd them, the Commons threatned him with an Impeachment for some old Star-Chamber Story, got the Peers to join in discharging the faid Gnard, order'd their Members to bring their Servants well armed to the House, encouraged the Rabble, that affronted all my Friends, to the great Offence of the Peers: Nay, they enjoin'd the Sheriffs, Juffices, and Conflables, not to diffurb the People by Night or by Day, that affembled to frame Petitions, and in these Christmas Holidays their Concourse at Westminster increas'd, as well as their Infolence, whereby I was forced to forcify my Palace Gates. But then many Officers of the English Army, lately. disbanded, offer'd themfelves to guard my Perfon, and having regularly form'd them, I gave them the Title of my Life-guard, whereby the Commons thought themselves excus'd in countenancing the Tumults, and People were much confirm'd in the Belief of my former Plot to bring up the Army; and feeing the Mobs every Day stopt at Whitehall to give me a Volley of Pos Bilhops, no Popily Lozds, my faid Lifeguard Men (whom the Mob call'd in Scorn the King's poor CAVALIERS) being fir'd with Indignation at the vile promisenous Rabble, first call'd them in Contempt a Pack of Boundhead= ed Rasials and Canters, as the Mob call'd them in return Cut Throat CAVALIERS, Malignants and Ranters, which very foon produced a Skirmish, wherein some of the Mob were handsomely cut and fash'd, and would never have rally'd, if the Commons had not call'd it a Levying War by the King, and express'd much Pity for the male Treatment of the Good PEOPLE, that came with their Petitions to the Parliament; whereby they were fo reinforced, that my Cathe Clergy turning almost Presbyterian in Opposi- valiers kept within the Palace. Hence arose the tion to the Laudeant; cry'd up the Parliament, ordinary Diffinction during the Wars, my Party being call d the CAVALIBRS, and the opposite Party the Roundheads, the Mob then wearing Cropt-Hair, which was not fashionable at my Court. But these Bickerings gave handle to both Houses, on the 29th of December, to join opprensives, some presented me with a Printed in appointing a double Watch and Guard, that the strike against Dopers, the Itish Ecception, kept the Mob Within Bounds, while many young Lawyers, and other Gentlemen, offer d their Seroling out of Dictace, that Reformation and vice to guard me; may, if I had encouraged the

Humour, I should have soon had a gallant little was most unseasonable in such a Storm, when Army of clever Gentlemen to furround my Palace, to repel the City-Mob (for the Inhabitants of the Liberty of Westminster were my hearty Friends) to defeat the Parliament's Guards, to drive the Commons home to their respective Countries; and fo, in case a War had ensued, to have kept Possession of London and the THAMBS, the Want of which prov'd a great Means of my Overthrow. But I had few Servants in the House of Commons, all my Friends there being Volunteers, and I fatally neglected to buy off my greatest Enemies, before they were desperately imbark'd in reducing the Monarchy, or had contracted personal Hatred of me ; yet wish I had more consulted my Friends in both Houses, especially in the Affair of the Bishops, who during these Tumults had their Lodgings threatned; some of 'em were assaulted in their Coaches, (particularly WILLIAMS, whom I had lately made Archbishop of YORK, whose and all of 'em being frightned from their Seats in the House of Lords, a Dozen of'em met at Williams's Lodgings during his Fright and Vexation, when he rashly advis'd them presently to fend " A Petition and Protestation to the " King, and the Peers, against the Violence used " upon them, and against the Validity of all " the Acts pass'd since the 27th Instant, and of " all that should pass during their forced and "violent Absence from the said honourable " House:" For when it came to me, supposing it had been drawn by mature Advice, I gave it to my Keeper LITTLETON then present, commanding him to deliver it to the House of Peers as foon as it met, which was in two Hours, on the 30th of December; tho' he knowing its ill Tendency, should have advis'd with my Friends about it; but the Keeper, to ingratiate himself with the prevailing Party, to whom he was very obnoxious, took care to have it read that Day in the House, and smartly set forth its Aggravations. The Peers, that were Enemies to the Bisheps, call'd it THE FINGER OF God, to accomplish what had been otherwise impracticable; and so, without a Debate, they fent the Paper down to the Commons, who in half an Hour impeach'd at the Peers Bar the Twelve protesting Bishops of High Treason. Ten of 'em were fent to the Tower; but Durham and Litchfield, because of their Age, were committed to the Black Rod, where they all re-III Intersiege

the best Pilot was at his Prayers, and the Card and Compass lost, without the Advice of one clever Mariner, to put themselves in such a Cock-boat, and fo to be fever'd from the good Ship; for thus by implying, they had a Negative upon the Votes of Parliament, they highly offended their Friends; infomuch that, in the whole Debate, there was but one Commoner spoke in their behalf; who said, He did not believe they were guilty of High Treason, and should not be fent to the Tower; but thought they were stark Mad, and should therefore be fent to Bed-

Yet this extravagant Proceeding against so many Bishops did me no Prejudice, much lessened People's Veneration for Parliaments, and made my Friends more closely attend the two Houses, with a fair Prospect of a Majority in both, who treated no more with the angry Paity to abate their Fury: Nay, I had certainly Robes they tore, and he narrowly escap'd) prevail'd over them in a Parliamentary Way, if I had only fat still, and let my Friends play their Part, had only stood upon my Guard, and had deny'd all that was in my Power to deny; for at this Time my Enemies Proceedings were only the Attempts of Men in Despair, and at the last Gasp, the two Houses being at great Variance: But I own my Patience was worn to the stump; and therefore, tho I knew Endeavours were used for an amicable Accommodation, yet having discover'd, while in Scotland, enough to make me apprehensive, that the infolent Commons defign'd to divest me of all my Royalties, to model the Monarchy, by returning unto me what Branches of the Prerogative they pleas'd, and to make me their very Creature; by my Wife's Advice, I printed only 40 of my foresaid Proclamation against the Irish Rebels, on the first of January 1641. Which gave great Offence, especially that even those could not be feen, and that I had printed the Proclamation against the Scots (when they rose in Arms) without Number, and with all Expedition, having order'd it to be publish'd in every Country Church on Sundays by the Parson, with publick Prayers and Execrations, as well as in Cities and Towns on other Days by the Magifrate. But she press'd me further on the 3d to fend Sir EDWARD HERBERT my General Attorney to the House of Peers, to exhibite in my Name the following Articles of High Treafon, and Mildemeanours, against the Lord KIMmain'd, till the A& against their Votes in Par- BOLTON of their House (the Earl of MANliament was pass'd. But however legal or con- c HESTER'S Son, call'd also Viscount MANscientious their Protestation was, 'tis certain it | DEVILLE) and five Commoners, JOHN PYM,

1. They design'd to change the Government into a Democracy. 2. To alienate from the King the Affections of his People. 3. To engage the King's Troops to be on their side. 4. To overthrow the Rights, and true Form of Parliaments. 5. To ftir up Tumults against the King and Parliament. 6. To levy War against the King. 7. And that they had invited and encouraged a foreign Power to invade his Kingdom of England. But KIM-BOLTON was not committed to the Black Rod, being much respected by the Peers, who believ'd him innocent, and they being appal'd by this Alarun took Time to confider of it. Next Day my Attorney accused the five Commoners at the Commons Bar, and a Serjeant at Arms with him, who in my Name demanded their Perfons; but the House forbad the Serjeant at his Peril to meldle with any of their Members without their leave, and fent me a Message, that the five Members should be forth-coming as soon as a legal Charge was preferr'd against them: And because I had feal'd their Trunks and Studies, the Commons publish'd a Declaration against it, authorizing them to fland upon their Guard, and requiring all Magistrates to assist them, according to their folemn Protestation. Oh! had I now proceeded against the five Members at the Bar of the Peers according to Law, I might have brought them to submit by Fear, or quite blafted them by proving my Allegations! But I was refolv'd speedily to have them in my Custody, and to forward or delay their Trials at my Heaftire, in order to terrify the whole Party.

Therefore, on the 5th of Fanuary 1641, I went in Person from Whitehall to the House of Commons in the Afternoon, attended with my Band of Pensioners, my Life Guard of Cavaliers, and some hundred Gentlemen, many of 'em joining me in the Way; and leaving my Retinue at the Door, I enter'd the House only with my Nephero the ELECTOR PALATINE, being firmly refolv'd to feize the five Members, and forthwith to commit them : But the Countels of Carlifle, an intriguing Woman, having arttully discover'd my Design, betray'd it in Time for them to escape out just as I came in. You may be fure, my Presence assonish'd the whole House, and Lenthal the Speaker left the Chair in a great Fright, which I took Possession of, and with an angry Countenance looking round, Taid, I'm afraid the Birds are flown! Then I demanded to know of Lentbal where they were: III. Interview

JOHN HAMDEN, DENZIL HOLLES, Sir ARTHUR this House gives me! To which I said, I think HASLERIG and WILLIAM STRODE, viz. That you are in the right; and turning to the whole House, I told 'em, I was forry I had been necessitated to come thither; that no King had ever been more careful to preserve their Privileges than I defired to be, but that in Cases of Treefon no Man had Privilege; that I bop'd the House would send me those dangerous Men; if not, that I knew how to find them, and would take them where-ever I found them. To which I got no Answer, and when going away, several cry'd out, Dibilege,

Privilege! This was the most unhappy step I could make at this Juncture: This sudden Action, this rashi Attempt, (for which I had none fo much to blame as my SELF and my WIFE) was the first visible Ground of the subsequent Wars, and was equally prejudicial to my Interest and Honour; for if I had found the five Members, and had call'd in my Poffe to feize em (whose imprudent Behaviour at the Door, and in the Lobbies, made the Commons believe I refolv'd to use Violence) the House would have endeavour'd their Defence, and opposed Force to Force, whereby I had endanger'd my Person; and if I had carried off the five Members, it would have ferv'd no purpose, but that of blackening me for breaking the ordinary Course of Law and Juflice; and being disappointed, my Enemies had the more popular Suggestion for Self Defence, and open War. Besides, by accusing them of inviting a foreign Power to invade England, I. virtually accused the Scors of what had been pardon'd and amicably adjusted, which they could not easily forget, and henceforward believ'd with their Brethren of England, that I defign'd to revoke all I had granted as foon as it was in my Power; and the therefore it was their Duty to put it out of my Power, by fuch Limitations as might render the Kingdom easy; but not to dethrone me, to murder me, and to banish my Family, as was done, when these prefent Managers were hurried off the Theatre, by the Sectarian Army and the Rump.

The five Members retir'd into the City as their frong Hold, frightned the Citizens to their Arms all Night, by a Rumour that I and my Civaliers were to fire it, and next Day with difficulty I undeceiv'd them at Guildhall; tho my affable Speech produced no Acclimations; nay, while I pass'd thro' the City to dine with the Sheriffs, the Mob roar'd out Privilege of Parliament! And one of em, To your Tents, D Mrael! Yet to hide my Dejection of Mind, P Who reply'd, I have neither Eyes to see, Ears to publish'd on the 7th of January the Articles bear, nor Tongue to fpeak in this Place, but what of their Charge, and a Proclamation for stopping

Mean while both Houles adjourn'd a few Days, demnity; made Skippon Major General of the and the Commons appointed a Committee of the London Militia; and order'd him daily to guard whole House to meet in the City for Safety; the Parliament; and 6000 Buckinghamshire Men, where they were made welcome by the Com- stanch Freeholders, the Electors of Hamden, mon Council, who guarded them by substantial address'd the Commons and Peers, and ME also, Citizens, that were proud of the Office; and by as Hamden had directed them, concerning the false Reports every where in the City, Intrenchments, Barricadoes, Chains across the Streets, were to be feen lin'd with armed Men, the Shops lege, with invidious and aggravating Circumthut up, and the People all at a Gaze. My stances, " As a traiterous Design against the Friends attending the Committee heard all my Inte Conduct canvass'd, and all my Servants examin'd; for none had Courage to refuse to obey their Summons. I thought fit now to publish my Answer at large to the late large Bemon= Arance of the Commons, which tho' of great nse afterwards, it gave no Allay to the present Distempers, the City sending me a solemn Petition against my late Proceedings, and about their present Fears; not having forgot how often their Charter had been formerly call'd in Question, and as often redeem'd by considerable Sums; how their Grant of Irish Lands, and their City of London Derry had been voided by a Suit in the Star-Chamber, refum'd into my Hands, and redeem'd by a Fine of 50000 1. at least I apprehended that they remembred these and other old Sores. And fo being weary of Whitehall, I left it on the 10th of January 164;, giving out that I was not there protected against the Crowds, that were gathering to bring up the five Members in Triumph to Parliament; at least not being able to bear the Infults of the Meb on that Occasion, I went with my WIFE and CHILDREN to Hampton Court, attended by my Guard of Cavaliers only, and never more faw London, till I was brought thither to be try'd, condemn'd, and executed, as a Traitor to England, by the most notorious Traitors to King, Parliament, and Kingdom that ever liv'd: Tho' I was more fafe than any Person about me, and therefore should have only fent my Family away, but should have staid my Self.

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whom they pleas'd. And now my Enemies, lately in Despair, finking under the Weight of the People's Expectations whom they had deluded, and of the Refentments of those whom they had oppres'd, recover'd Spirit, Strength and Reputation, most People believing all their Whispers against me, now indeed talk'd aloud, and publish'd in virulent Pampklets throughout the Kingdom, to my great Prejudice; while my Court was reduced to the lowest Disesteem and Neglect, and my Friends were confounded like Persons Thunderstruck at what had been done, and at what was like to follow: Yet most of 'em agreed to advise me to return to Whitehall, as foon as the pon, the Citizens, and all concern'd, with a Pro- took to reconcile the five Members to me-

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III. Interview.

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III. Interview.

I had frequent Caule of repenting my not following that wholesome Counsel, by which I had prevented my Overthrow; but then their Prudence avail'd not, because my WIFE had made me promile never to return to London without a fuperior Force to That of the Parliament, now guarded by the London Militia, and by Thoufands ready upon a Signal from the neighbouring Counties; and therefore, to be more free from the Clamours and Petitions of the People, I remov'd my Family on the 12th to Windfor-Caffle: And my Wife further advis'd me there to convocate my Friends, that in case the angry Party was impregnable, I might in Time provide for a War, and be able to return to London with at least as much Triumph as the five Members had return'd to Westminfter. But my Friends could not be animated yet to attend me, and the angry Party was now become the Nation, the Bulk of the People firmly believing, I defign'd to reduce them by Arms as foon as I could; the I gave them no formal Intimation of it.

For from Windsor, on the 13th, I sent to the Parliament a Message, " That seeing my late " Proceedings against the five Members were thought illegal, I would wave them, and when Matters were fettled, would proceed against them in an unquestionable Way; would be as careful of their Privileges as of " my Life or Crown, having never intended " to violate any of 'em; nay, being willing to affert them by Advice of Parliament: And therefore I advis'd them to lay afide all Jea-" lousies, and apply themselves to the publick and pressing Affairs, especially to those of Ireland." But they took no notice of this Meffage, because I had not wholly dropt the Accufation it felf, as well as the Form of it; and both Houses agreed to order Skippon to surround the Tower with his Train'd Bands, that no Arms might be fent to me from thence. They fent alfo an Order to Colonel GORING, the Governour of Portsmouth, to preserve that Town and Fort for them (but he prov'd my Friend to atone for his former Miscarriage) and a Message to the Governous of the Prince of WALES, not to suffer him to be transported out of England: They ordered their folemn Protestation to be again administer'd throughout the Kingdom, continued their Committee in the City, not for Protection, but only to flatter the Citizens, where they composed a new and large Remondies were applicable for 'em. III. Interview

But on the 20th I fent another Message, on purpose to divide the Lovers of publick Peace from the Ministers of Confusion, " Proposing to prevent the Evils threatned and impending, by speedily falling into a serious Consideration of the Particulars they held necessary, as well for upholding my just and regal Authority, and for fettling my Revenue, as for the present and future Establishment of their Privileges, the free and quiet enjoying of their Estates and Fortunes, the Liberties of their Persons, the Security of the true Religion, now profess'd in the Church of England, and the fettling of Ceremonies: Which when they should have digested and composed into one intire Body, that both I and they might make the more clear Judgment of them, it should then appear, by what I would do, how far I have been from defigning any of those Things that fearful and jealous People have apprehended, and how ready I would be to equal and exceed the most indulgent Princes in Acts of Grace and Favour to my People; fo that if the present Distractions, that threaten the Ruin of the Kingdom, did not by God's Bleffing end in a happy and bleffed Accommodation, I would then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witness, that it had not fail'd on my Part.

Yet before they answer'd it, they petition'd me either to proceed against the five Members, or to declare them innocent. To which I reply'd, that I was ready to proceed against them, if I knew whether I might do it by IMPEACHMENT, or by INDICTMENT at Common Law, because of their late Resolutions; and they return'd for Answer, "That having resolved that no Mem-"ber of Parliament should be arrested, or pro"ceeded against, but by the Consent of the House of which he is a Member, and seeing "they could not give or deny their Consent without knowing the Crime and Proof, they must first see the Evidence, before they could agree upon the Manner of the Prosecution.

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But tho' this was a new Way of doing Busines, I own, my dear Gus Tavus, I should have rather dropt all at once by a general Pardon, and not thus to irritate and exasperate my Enemies, who at this Time had the Body of the Populace at their Beck, and entirely govern'd both Houses: But I yielded always too late; for on the 26th of January the Commons proceeded with Vigour (even without the House of Peers, who had refused their Concurrence). "In a Petition to thank me first for my gracious Message of the 20th Instant, re-

folving to take it into speedy and serious Con- | Peers; at which Mr. Py M deliver'd the faid " fideration; and to defire me to remove Sir Petitions, and Solemnly faid, " That their "That and the other principal Forts, and the " whole Militia of the Kingdom, into the Hands " of fuch Persons, as should by them be recom-" mended to me, without which the Kingdom " must be overwhelmed with Misery and Ruin. To be fure I was glad to find the Houses at Variance, and therefore fent the Commons a very foft and gentle Answer, yet a plain Denial of their Petition, " Conjuring them also by all the " Acts of Favour they had received from me " during this Parliament, by their Hopes of future Happiness in me and in one another, by " their Love of Religion, and the Peace of the "Kingdom, that they would not be transport-" ed by Jealousies of possible Dangers, but speedily pursue the Way proposed by my former " Message." I design'd by this Expostulation to lessen the People's Reverence for the Counsels of the Commons, if after all their Confidence, and Disdain of the Peers, they should cowardly drop their faid Demands: But I was again mistaken; for they bravely resolv'd to set up their Rest upon that Stake, and to go thro' with it, or perish in the Attempt: For which end, they got the Common Council of LONDON to refule the Loan of 100000 1. and to give the Reasons thereof, viz. "The not passing the Bill for pressing Soldiers, long ago sent up to the " House of Peers, by which Delay the Irish Re-" bels made Account speedily to extirpate the " British Nations in Ireland, and then to make " Britain the Seat of the War; the King's not granting the Things the Commons had lately petition'd for; the King's late Conduct against " the Members of Parliament, that fill'd People " with many Fears; the Decay of Trade, and " Scarcity of Money, occasion'd by the other and others Inhabitants of the Counties of Mid- their Reasons (which indeed made my Party in ample Materials for a free Conference with the like little Armies, who gave the two Houles fe-. 111. Interview.

Fohn BYRON from the Tower, and to put " Lordships might in them hear the Cry of all " England; that the Agony, Terror and Perple-" xity of the People was universal; and no won-" der, if their Style was more vehiement than ordinary:" And after recounting the prefent notorious Dangers of the Kingdom, he particularly mention'd the Causes thereof, and the Obstructions of the Remedy of those Evils, viz. " The Want of Reformation in Religion, for which the Commons had done all in their " Power; the Obstruction of Trade, to which the Commons had given no Caufe; the not relieving Ireland, which had not been neglected by the Commons, but obstructed by the Want of Commissions for levying Men, according to the Bill for pressing Soldiers; nay, the Rebels were encouraged by the King's granting Paffes to eminent Papists to go into Ireland, who were now some of em great Commanders in the Rebel Army, after both Houses had stopt the Ports; which he believ'd was procured by evil Instruments without the King's Knowledge; and the Kingdom's Defence was not provided for, which the Commons were innocent of, as their Lordships could well testify; " the Delay of which was owing to the King's Evil Counsellors, the great Power of a factious Party in Parliament, the Continuance of the Votes of the Bishops and Popish Lords, the creating of new Lords to encrease their Strength, the fomenting a malignant Party throughout the Kingdom, and the Jealousies between the King and his Parliament; concluding, that he was forry our Posterity should be told, the House of Commons were inforced to fave the Kingdom alone, without the " Concurrence of the PERS.

Mr. Pym was thankt by the Commons for this " Evils, which was like to throw innumerable Management, and his Speech was printed, to " Multitudes of poor Artificers into such a let the People see, how negligent the Peers were " Depth of Poverty, as might enforce them up- of em; nay, the same Day the Inhabitants of on some dangerous and desperate Attempts; Hertfordshire petition'd the House of Peers com-" the ill-affected Persons in Places of Trust and plaining of the Delay of putting the Kingdom into " near the King's Person; the Votes of Bishops of Posture of War, for their better Defence: But all and Popish Lords in the House of Peers; and these Methods moved not the Peers to agree to " fo declar'd themselves innocent of contribu- pass the Bill about the Militia, lately sent up, " ting towards the Calamities of Ireland by this and twice refused; which made the Commons Refusal, until those Evils be cured." They influence their Friends in the Peers House, to also procured Petitions to both Houses, in the recrify their Enemies there, by protesting against Names of the Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, what they should propose, and by recording diefex, Effex and Hertford, fign'd by many Thou- that House faint-hearted) by encouraging their fand Hands, in much the same Style; which were old Friends in the City to Hock to Westminster

had lain fo long desperate.

And now both Houses join'd on the 2d of February, 1641, to petition me, " Forthwith to put the Tower of London, and all other Forts, the Hands of those that shall be recommended to me by both Houses of Parliament, and to do it with all Expedition, as the best Expedient for the removing all Diffidence be-" the Honour and Power of me and my royal " Posterity, and for the restoring and confirm-" ing the Peace and Happiness of all my Sub-" jects:" For the' the Militia-Bill was at first generally thought unreasonable; yet now most People believ'd it to be a very necessary Provifion for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. The same Time they petition'd me also to inform the Parliament in a few Days of the Proofs and Evidence against the accused Members, that they might be brought to a legal Trial. To which I reply'd, that as I thought I had once Ground enough to accuse the five Members, so now I found good Cause wholly to wave any Prosecution of them, and that I would comply with their Request about the Militia with certain Limitations, viz. " I would know the Extent of Power intended to be establish'd in those Persons they Cause to fear any Harm to my Person, only to

veral Petitions, particularly a clever one from |" might recommend, and to what Time it 15000 PORTERS, and another from many Thou- " should be limited, with their Names also, fands of poor People in and about London, which " that none might be vefted with that Power were artfully contriv'd to serve this Turn, as " against whom I might have just Exception : the Cry of the Poor and Needy, that were like to be Being willing rather to delay it at this Time. forced to lay hold on the next Remedy at hand, to than deny it flatly, tho' firmly resolved in no remove the Diffurbers of their Peace; Want and Ne- Degree to consent to it. But they would underceffity breaking the Bounds of Modesty. Nay, after stand it, as if I inclin'd to gratify them, and rethey were thank'd by the Commons, the Mob turn'd a Message of Thanks; nay, having by even infolently demanded of 'em the Names mere Importunity prevail'd with me to turn out of those Lords that refused their Concur- Sir John By RON from the Government of the rence: So that after the Commons had fent the Tower (who the same time defired me to free Peers a Message by Denzil Holles to desire their him from the Agony and Vexation of that Place) Concurrence, their Lordsbips Number being and to confer it on Sir John Coniers, they much lessened by Indignation, or by bodily Fear, began to think themselves posses'd of the whole the major Part of the Remainder, upon the Mo- Militia and Forts of the Kingdom. I consenttion of Northumberland, pass'd the Bill touching ed also to the Parliament's Proposals of sending the Militia: And in two Days the Men of Supplies to Ireland out of SCOTLAND, but Surrey, about 2000, fign'd a Petition to the could not approve, that the Scots should keep Peers, " Thanking their Lordships for their the Town and Castle of Carrick-Fergus, and that " happy Concurrence with the Commons in fet- their Generals should have the principal Com-" tling the Militia and Forts in good and fafe mand in those Parts, till press'd by the Sots " Hands, and praying them to go on united in Commissioners, who were desir'd to offer their " the Relief of Ireland, and the Redress of Mediation: Yet the Commons made an Order, " Grievances." Upon the Delivery of which that none of my brave Cavaliers, that had at-Petition, the House of Peers pass'd the Bill for tended me at Whitehall, should be employ'd in taking away the BISHOPS Votes in Parlia- reducing of Ireland, tho' I had recommended ment, and that concerning Deeffing, which several of em. I thought fit now to demand Satisfaction for Mr. Pym's affirming, that many now at the Head of the Irish Rebellion had pass'd thither by my Warrant, after the Parliament bad floot the Ports; which I faid was a falle Charge, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom, into and defy'd them to tell their Names; but the Commons protected Pym, and publish'd the Names' of those Rebels that had pass'd by my Warrant: And about this Time I offer'd a free and general PARDON, but too late, and not enough to " tween me and my People, for establishing dispel their growing Fears and Jealousies, especially that of my reverting to my former French Way of Government as foon as in my Power; and therefore they resolved first to put it out of my Power, by impairing the Prerogative, after the Example of the Scors.

Therefore I refolved to remove to a greater distance from London, to send my WIFE to Portsmouth, where the Governour Colonel Goring would protect her, and to go my felf to HULL, where my Magazine lay, whither my Friends might fafely refort with their Attendants, and by their Advice I might plaulibly refuse to pass any Act sent me by the two Houses, till I knew the Extent of their Demands, and how far they intended to gratify me for all my Condescensions: But I had acled a wifer Part to have return'd to London, where I had no my Retinue, that were most of 'em indeed ob- lige the People, and thereby to leave a pleasant noxious enough to the Wrath of the Parliament and People. This Project, tho' imparted to none but Three, was betray'd and blafted; as were even the very Whispers of my Bed-Chamber quickly carried to my Enemies, that fearing my faid Design, sent Sir John HOTHAM and his Son to take Possession of Hull (where all the Artillery, Arms and Ammunition of the late disbanded English Army were laid up) and becaufe I had given them no Answer to their Petition for the removing of that Magazine to the Tower: This not a little vex'd me; for I had determin'd to give the Government of Hull to the Earl of NEW-CASTLE, whereby it would have been of unspeakable Advantage to me, had I been only expeditious. But my Wife believing the Surmize brought to her of the Commons Delign to impeach her of High Treefon; and the STATES GENERAL having demanded my Daughter M A-RY, now their PRINCESS of ORANGE; her Mother laid hold of that Opportunity to transport her self into Holland, patiently there to expect an Amendment of the Affairs of England, or else to fend me what Succours could be raifed beyond Sea to begin the War: And that she might not be stopt, neither by the Parliament, nor the People, but might travel fafely to Dover, where she was to imbark, She join'd my other Friends in advising me to pass the Bill against the Bishops Votes, and taking away all temporal Jurisdiction from those in Holy Orders, about which I had took Time to advise, and had slighted all the Parliament's Reasons for it : Nor had I, till now, much regarded the Arguments of my special Friends, and thorow paced Church-Men; who thought that " my enacting this Bill was the only Way " to preferve the Church; that I could not with-" stand the united Combination for it; that my " Compliance would prevent their demanding " any further Alteration in the Church; that I " was upon the Matter deprived of the Bishops "Votes already; that I parted with no matter " of Moment; that my Consent would be a very popular Argument to justify my taking up " Arms, to maintain my Power of the Militia, " if forced to it: Whereas, that my Refusal " would be most unpopular for that Contention, " few thinking their Votes ellential, and most " Men believing them prejudicial to the Peace " and Happiness of the Kingdom: That especi-" ally the Circumstances of Force and Tumult " might another Time be used as a just Argument to render this Act of mine null and void, " as many other A&s:" I fay, till now that my WIFE join'd them, who thinking also thus to ob-III. Interview.

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Odour behind her, importun'd me Night and Day with all her powerful Charms, and artful Tongue, to do that readily, which, the faid, would he extorted from me when she was gone; and she prevail'd over me too, contrary to my Judgment and most positive Resolution, at Canterbury, in her Way to Dover, on the 14th of February 164', to fend a Commission to enact both that Bill, and the other about Pressing; whereby many of my Friends were grievously disgusted, and withdrew from my Councils. Yet tho' the Parliament fent me Thanks for thus consulting the Safety both of England and Ireland at once, they vex'd me by their agreeing the fame Day on an Dedinance for lettling the Militia, with the Names of those they now meant to confide in, and fent it me by Express for my Approbation, beginning thus: WHEREAS there bath been of late a most dangerous and desperate Design upon the House of Commons, which we have just Cause to believe to be the Effect of the bloody Counfels of the Papists, and other ill-affected Persons; who have already raised a Rebellion in the Kingdom of Ireland, and, by reason of many Discourses, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to fir up the like Rebellion and Insurrection in this Kingdom of England, but also to back them with Forces from abroad: For the Safety therefore of his Majesty's Person, the Parliament and Kingdom, in this Time of imminent Danger, It is ordain'd by the King, the Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled, That, &c. This they would never part from, and I would never grant it; and so it became the most avow'd Foundation of the Calamities that follow'd, tho' I only reply'd to their Petition, that I would respite my particular Answer to a Matter of so great Weight, till I return'd from Dover; which vex'd them not a little, because I fix'd no Time. The same Day also, they opened the Letters of Lord Dig By my Secretary (betray'd into their Hands) to his Brother-in-law Sir Lewis Dives, and to my WIFE, intimating, " That if the King betake himself to a safe Place, where he may " avow and protect his Servants, I shall then " live in Impatience and Misery, till I wait up-" on you" and call'd the Parliament Craitors. For he had fled beyond Sea about a Month before by my Warrant, upon being accused by the Commons of attempting to raise a Body of Horse at Kingston upon Thames; for which, upon this fresh Provocation, they impeach'd him of High Treason for levying War against the King, and befought me to perswade my WIEE not to vouchfafe any Countenance to D 1 G 8 Y, or

Day they impeached also my Attorney General HERBERT, for contriving the Articles against

Kimbolton, and the five Members.

We arriv'd at Dover on the 16th, and on the 23d of February my dear Consort and Daughter imbark'd for HOLLAND; and on the 26th I return'd to Greenwich near London, whither the Marquess of Hertford (now Governour of the Prince in the Room of New-Castle, who had laid down) by my Command brought my two Sons CHARLES and JAMES, contrary to the Parliament's Order; and from thence, on the 28th, I fent my Answer to the two Houses concerning the Militia, wherein I flatly deny'd my Affent to their Drbinance, " for many Reasons, " to which I was not oblig'd by my Answer to " their Petition of the 2d Instant. I excepted against the Preface of their Ordinance, as what " might lead People to mean my coming to " the House of Commons on the 5th of January " last to demand the five Members : I call'd Al-" mighty God to witness, that I had no Design " then upon the House, but only to secure them " five Gentlemen, which now I was convinced was a Breach of Privilege, and was ready to repair it according to their Direction; hoping "they would not impute to me the Rashnels of some Gentlemen then attending me to the " Door of the House, as I gave them no Direct tions, but on the contrary altogether. I con-" fented to their Nomination of Lieutenants, except in London, and other Corpora-" tions, that by their Charters had the Power of the Militia granted to them, which it was " neither Justice nor Policy to violate: But if " they wanted more Power to those Persons named, than by the Law is in the Crown it felf, " that the faid Power ought in Reason to be first vested in ME, which then I should willingly " transfer to them: That I would have it digef-" ted in the Form rather of an AcT of Parliament, than of an Dedinance, for the Information of all my Subjects. That I could not " confent to divest my self of my just Power, and to put it into the Hands of Subjects for " an indefinite Time. That fince the Ground of " their Request to me was to dispel their pre-" fent Fears and Jealousies, in order with Safe-" ty to apply themselves to my Message of Ja-" nuary 20th; I hoped my Conduct and Grace " to them would wholly dispel those Fears and Lealousies, and that I would continue the same "Remedy while required: That having con-4 fented to all I had promis'd before (which was

any other English Fugitives: Nay, the same [" named by Parliament) I hoped they would find my Answer more satisfactory to their Ends, " than the Way proposed by their Ordinance, to which I could not confent. And finding by " their Petition, that divers Counties had enter'd upon exercifing the Power of the Militia without lawful Authority; I required that all fuch might be proceeded against accord-" ing to Law." Having fent this Answer, I tra-

vell'd the same Day to Theobalds. But this was not the Answer they expected; and therefore both Houses voted, my Advisers were " Enemies to the State, and mis-" chievous Projectors against the Defence of the " Kingdom: That the King's Denial, perfifted in, would hazard the Peace and Safety of all his Kingdoms, unlefs the Parliament can apply a fpeedy Remedy: And that those, who had put themselves in a Posture of Defence against the common Danger, had done nothing but what " was approv'd by both Houses." Nay, they fent a select Committee after me to Theobalds, with a serious Exposfulation, " That my not confenting to fettle the Militia as they had propos'd, would force them to do it without me; for that it could not be delay'd: That they were grieved at my liftning more to my evil Counfellors, than to the dutiful and faithful Counsel of my Parliament: That they intended no Aspersion on me by the Preamble of their Ordinance: That for many Reasons I. should continue my Abode, at least should permit the Prince of Wales to refide, in or near London: That the Power of the Militia could not be granted to any Corporation by: Charter, or otherwise, without Consent of Parliament; and that those who had put themselves in a Posture of Defence had acted according to Law, and by their Direction; with a very dutiful Conclusion." To this I reply'd ex tempore, "That I was fo amaz'd I knew not what to answer: That I had as much Reason to be disturb'd with Fears and Jealonfies as they had: That I should not alter my Answer about the Militia in any Point: That I wish'd my Residence near them were fafe and honourable: That I would take due care of my Son: And that I had no Thought but of Peace and Justice to my People, which I would, by all fair Means, feek to maintain; relying upon God for the Preservation of my " felf and my Rights." Upon the Report of my Reply on the 2d of March, the two Houses resolved, That the Kingdom should be forthwith put into a Posture of Defence, according to their oly to put the Militia into the Hands of those Dedinance; and that all the present Lord Liev-

TENANTS

missions given by me, in order to be cancell'd, as illegal and useless. Then they sent to the Eurl of Northumberland, being Lord High Admiral, to rig out all the Navy Royal for guarding the Coaft, and defending the publick Honour, Peace and Safety of the King and Kingdom against foreign Invasions now threatned: To which the

Errl return'd an obedient Answer.

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I went from Theobalds to Newmarket, whither their Committee follow'd me with a long Declaration on the 9th of March, importing, "That their Fears and Jealousies were well " grounded, but mine were not; because of the "Defign of altering the Religion of this and my " other Kingdoms, which had been potently " carried on by those in greatest Authority about me, by my QUEEN's Agent at Rome, and the POPE's Nuncio in Englandmake way for which, the War against Scotland was procured, and chiefly supported by " the Papists and because of the Irish Be-" bellion, which was contrived in Englandof the late Delign, styl'd the Queen's pious Intention-of the Irish Rebels calling themselves " the Queen's Army, and affirming, they acted " by my Authority, and threatning to come over to England, how foon their Bufiness was done in Ireland—because of my Attempts to engage the late English Army to march up " to London in my behalf, and fending Mr. Fermyn beyond Sea by a Warrant under my own " Hand, after I had affur'd the Parliament that " none of my Servants should go from Court-" of my Attempt upon Lord KIMBOLTON, " and the five Members --- of my fending Lord " DIGBY beyond Sea, from the just Censure " of the House of Commons—of my following Digby's Advice too much in withdrawing " from London to some-Place of Strength, and " carrying the Prince with me: And because of " the Accounts they had from beyond Sea of " my Defign to alter the Protestant Religion, " and to break the Neck of Parliaments by " foreign Popish Aids: - That these were " some of the Grounds of their Fears and Fea-44 lousies, which had made them so earnestly 4' implore my Royal Authority and Protection, for their Defence and Security, in all the Ways of Humility and Submission: Which I having " deny'd by the Influence of evil Counsel, they s did, with Sorrow for the unavoidable Mile-" ry like to fall upon my Person and Kingdoms, " begin to use that Power for the Security and " Defence of both, which relided in them by " the Fundamental Laws and Constitution; yet " ry they thought this way of Address mor III. Interview.

TENANT's in England should bring in their Com- |" still resolving to be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to my facred Person and Crown-They call'd my Expression of my Residence at " Whitehall not being safe and honourable, the greatest Breach of Privilege, the heaviest Mifery, and Imputation upon them, that could be imagin'd, depriving me at once of their Fidelity, and them of my Protection-They faid they had, according to my Delire, laid their Hands upon their Hearts, strictly examin'd their Consciences, searched their Affections, their Thoughts, consider'd their Actions, and found none that could give me just Occasion of withdrawing from Whitehall and my Parliament, but that I might be there with more Honour and Safety than in any other Place. They begg'd either to know Particulars, or not to be accused with Generals—They belought me to consider how easy and fair a Way I had to Happiness, Honour, Greatness, Plenty and Security, by joining with my Parliament in Defence of the Religion and the publick Good of the King-" dom, which was all they expected of me, and for which they would return me their Lives and Fortunes—But that Words could not fatisfy 'em, because I had formerly contrived and attempted their Subversion, while I was fending them gracious Messages: That what would affure them, I had no Thought but of Peace and Justice to my People, must be a real Effect of my Goodness, in granting what the Necessity of the Kingdom did inforce them to defire; and that, previous to it, I would remove my evil Counfellors, and return with the PRINCE to London and the Parliament, which would have many bleffed " Consequences. And they inforced their Defire for my Return; " Because my Absence, 1. would make People think I defign'd to discourage the raising Money for the Relief of Ireland. 2. It would much hearten the Irifb Rebels, and the Disaffected in England. 3. It would much weaken and withdraw my Subjects Affections, in which confift my chief Strength and Luftre. 4. It would invite foreign Enemies to make Attempts upon us; and 5. It caused a great Interruption in the Proceedings of Parliament: And that they held it necessary, as my great Council, to offer this their faithful Advice, that fo, whatever should follow, they might be excused before God and Men. To this I reply'd, "That I was confident they expected not a speedy Answer, and for-

Message of the 20th of Fanuary last-That I did not think my Fears and Doubts should have been regarded as trivial and groundless, whilft so many seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, and great Tumults go unpunish'd-That I still confess my Fears, and call God to witness they are greater for the true Protestant Profession, my People and Laws, than " for my own Rights and Safety, tho' none of these are free from Danger. What would you bave? (faid I to the Committee) Have I vio-" lated your Laws? Have I deny'd to pals any one Bill, for the Ease and Security of my Subjects? I do not ask you, what you have done Are my People transported with " for me. " Fears and Apprehensions? I have offer'd as free and general a Pardon, as your felves can " devise. There is a Judgment from Heaven up-" on this Nation if these Distractions continue! "God fo deal with me and mine, as all my "Thoughts and Intentions are upright, for the " Maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and the Laws of the Land, and hope God will " bless those Laws for my Preservation. Earl of HOLLAND (one of the Committee) again defired me to relide near the Parliament; to whom I said, I would you had given me Cause ; but I'm sure this Declaration is not the Way to it: And being asked by the Earl of PEMBROKE, Whether the Militia might not be granted, as was defired by the Parliament, for a certain Time only? I reply'd, By God, not for an Bour; "there was never " Juch a Thing asked of a KING, and with which " I will not trust my WIFE and Children: I could not have believ'd the Parliament could have fent me such a Declaration, if you had not been " the Bearers; yet am glad I have got it, whereby " I doubt not to satisfy my People: You speak of " my evil Counsel, but you have worse Informa-" tion: As for the Business of Ireland, it can newer be done by 400, it must be put into the " Hands of ON E, and if I were trufted with it, " I would pawn my Bead to end that Work foon. I now publish'd my former fecret Intention of removing to YORK, by a Message to both Houses from Huntington upon my Journey thither, " Defiring them to expedite the Business of Ireland, in which I would chearfully concur, that no Inconvenience might happen to " the Service of reducing those Rebels by my a Atsence-That therefore if the Calamities

convenient than That propounded by my |" World from the least Imputation of Slackness in that most necessary and pious Work. That as I had been tender of their Privileges, and " forward to retract any supposable Breach of " 'em, they would be tender of my known Prerogatives, of which it was a fundamental one, "That my Subjects could obey no Act, Order or " Injunction, to which I have not given my Confent. And therefore I thereby required all my loving Subjects to obey the Laws already esta-" blisht, and not presume, upon pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which I am no Party) concerning the Militia, or any other Thing, " to do or execute what is not warrantable by those Laws: And I once more recommended my Message of the 20th of January last, being most desirous to beget an happy Understanding between me and my Parliament, in " which confift my greatest Power and Riches. In the mean time, on the 15th of March, the Houses of Parliament had resolved, " That it-" was not contrary to the Oath of Allegiance " for them to call in all my Commissions to " Lord Lieutenants as illegal and void, and to " account all that acted by my Commissions as " Disturbers of the Kingdom's Peace: That the « Kingdom being in imminent Danger from foce reign Enemies, and also a discontented Party ce at home, there was an urgent Necessity of ce putting the King's Subjects into a Posture of co Defence for the Safeguard of his Majesty and " his People; for which End the Lords and cc Commons had often address'd the King to con-" fent in disposing of the Militia, as was agreed upon by the Wildom of both Houses, and as ce the best Expedient at present, but could not prevail with his Majesty: That therefore their " Ordinance about the Militia did oblige the " People, and ought to be obey'd by the fun-" damental Laws of the Kingdom; and that " both Houses should nominate Deputy Lieutenants to execute their Commands in that Service." So that when my Meffage came on the 16th, both Houses were all in Choler and Rage, as it was wholly repugnant to their Votes the Day before, and refolved, " That who-" ever advis'd me to that Message, and to ab-" fent my felf from the Parliament, were Ene-" mies to the Kingdom's Peace, and justly to " be suspected to be Favourers of the Rebel-" lion in Ireland. They resolved to insist upon " their former Votes about these Things, " adding, That when the Lords and Comof my poor Protestant Subjects there should "mons in Parliament, the Supreme Court of Judigrow upon them (which I should be griev'd " cature, had declared what the Law of the Land or) I would walh my Hands before the " is; to advise to have that question'd, controves-" ted

" ted and contradicted, with a Command that prevent; because I had rashly committed the " it should not be obey'd, was an high Breach " of the Privilege of Parliament. This paffing without any Dispute or Hesitation, wise Scandal of my denying any thing for the Relief Men faw the Laws of the Land and the Liberty of the Subject resolved into a Vote of the two Houses, whereby the Civil War was inevitable.

For now my Journey to York was known, and the Confequences thereof suspected; and the Parliament apprehending my Attempt upon the Magazine of Hull, resolved that no Forces should be admitted into it without the Consent of both Houses; which they fent to Sir John Hotham by Express, and prepared the Nation for the Militia, by publishing, "That in extreme " Danger, their Droinance was to be obey'd, and " that now was the Time; because by their " Letters from Amsterdam, and by a Person of " Reputation from New-Market, they knew " of an intended Invasion from DENMARK, " and another from FRANCE, both upon " HULL, against the Parliament of England; as if I had gone to York to meet and encourage those Invasions: Nay, being also afraid of a Popish Insurrection at home, they prepared a Bill for imprisoning the more eminent Papists, and enjoined the Oath of Supremacy with great Rigour. They encourag'd Petitions from all Counties for executing their Ordinance of the Militia; and purfued, as Delinquents, all that attempted to procure Petitions against it, particularly some Gentlemen of Oxfordsbire and London. They publish'd and dispers'd all their Petitions and Memorials to me, and my Answers and Messages, in order to influme the Reckoning: And to poison the Affections of my Subjects, they took care to employ such Ministers and Lecturers in the most populous Towns and Parishes, as were Enemies to my Court and present Conduct; while the Clergymen that were my Friends, were many of them profecuted as in-Lord Admiral to lend the Names of all the Sea-Officers, and fruck out their Names whose ! Affections or Relatives they were not secure in; as they had already proceeded in Ways and Means to raife Moneys (which are the Nerves and Sinews of War) by a diligent Collection of what was granted by former Acts, and by a new Bill for 400,000 l. to pay the Nation's Debts, and support the War of Ireland, to be whereby they had a Stock of Credit to serve raise no more Forces; but fled to the Scare them upon all Occasions, which I could not Army then in English Pay near Newark, w

Affair of Ireland to them at first, and they were engaged for the Nation's Debts before; and the of Ireland, necessitated me to pass the Att with fuch general Clauses, that it might be in their Power to alienate the Fund, as it afterwards fell out: Nay, among other Expedients to raile Money for Ireland, they made Proposals for ADVENTURERS (thus, to allow fo many Acres of Land of the Irish forfeited Estates for fo much Money advanced to carry on the War) which having pass'd both Houses as a Bill, with fuch Clauses of Power to them, and Diminution of my own, that it was not in my Power to make Peace with those Rebels, tho' upon the most advantagious Terms; it was presented to me, and I was again necessitated to pass it also into an A&, to avoid the same Scandal, even tho' I had told them, "that, relying upon their Wif-" dom, I did it without examining whether that Course might not retard the reducing of Ireland by exasperating the Rebels, and rendering them desperate of being receiv'd into " Grace, if they should return to their Obedi-" ence; as it happened accordingly; my Enemies being allo willing enough to drive the Native Irish to any Extremity, both out of Revenge and Contempt, as a People they could eafily extirpate; fearing also a sudden Peace in Ireland might prejudice them, by supplying me with Power: Nor could they be ignorant, that by passing this Act I might discourage the Papists in my other Dominions from being active in my Interest, as it would render me less consider'd by most Popish Princes; and they knew well how to improve any Diminution of my Interest and Reputation. They printed the AS, and the Chief M.magers having subscrib'd first great Sums, for the Example of others of all Conditions, fome out of Zeal, and others out of Policy concurr'd, till a very great Sum was railed, and fufficient or scandalous. They appointed the lodged with four LORDs, and eight COMMO-NERS, appointed to manage the whole Buliness of Ireland. This was the State of Things on the 19th of March 1641, when I arriv'd at my City of YORK.

I should now proceed to inform you how artfully the Parliament and I carried on a Paper War, till we both were animated and inflam'd, and could be once inabled to take the Field: Then how many Battels were fought, Towns were taken and received and disburfed by the Direction of the retaken, and Treaties prov'd abortive: How the two Houses; which I confirm'd into an A&, Scots join'd the English Parliament, and I could

III. Interview.

whom I march'd to New-Caftle, (where I disputed on the 30th at my own Palace Gate. But all this with Mr. Principal HENDERSON,) and by that Army was deliver'd into the Hands of the Parliament's Commissioners upon honourable Terms; tho' they were foon violated by the Sectarian Army, that took me out of their Hands, and led me about the Country, till they brought me to Hampton-Court. How I was decoy'd from yielding to the Parliament's Terms by Lieutenant General CROMWELL's fecret Proposal to restore me by the Army, and was frightned away to the Isle of Wight. How all Attempts to relieve me were in vain, my Friends in WALES were defeated by Cromwell, and my Kentish Men by Fairfax, who blockaded Colchester, and flarved my Garrison into a Surrender at Discretion: How my Friends in the North, and the Scots Army too under Duke HAMMILTON (who was taken Prisoner) that came to relieve me, were defeated by Cromwell, who then took n Berwick and Carlile; and every where all Projects for me were blafted: How upon my ofitive denying to affent to four Bills, the Partament voted no more Addresses to be made to me; but, upon many Petitions from several Parts of the Kingdom, both Houses at last enter'd ino a personal Treaty with me, till the Armies, every where victorious, return'd to their Body, captivated London, and gave Laws to the Parliament; remonstrating against the said personal Treaty, and for a new Parliament. How they formed a Council of Military Officers, who fent an Order to shut me up in Hurst Castle, without the Knowledge of either House, who had both agreed that my Concessions were Ground enough to proceed in fettling the Kingdom. How by that Vote the Council of Officers were provok'd to send Coonel Pride with a Detachment to feize on the chief Presbyterian Members of the Commons, and to feclude the rest from the House, by not most agreeably interrupted me. etting them enter it; upon which the Remainder were called the Rump, and were Officers hoffly, who yet had the Impudence to call themelves the Parliament, to vote a KING and House PEER'S useless, to bring me up a Prisoner to Westminster, to appoint 150 Commissioners to ry me for high Creason, to erect a pretended High Court of Fustice, of which bloody BRAD-HA w was President, who, tho not with the alf of the Commissioners, began to try me on the oth of January 1643. How I bravely scorn'd heir Power, and objected to their Jurisdiction tree leveral Days; and how on the 4th Bradshaw ated me with the utmost Indignation, and oro'd the Clerk to read a long ugly Sentence for me, which was barbaroufly executed

would be too much at one Time, and I'm afraid I have quite tired you already with my melancholy Story. I long also to be diverted with the Account of your warlike Reign. Belides, you may perceive my Predecessor Queen E L 12 A-BETH, and your Daughter and Successor Queen CHRISTINA, have just now attempted to take a Turn in this pleafant Alley; but upon feeing us retir'd, as unwilling to disturb us: Therefore, my dear Gustavus, let us oblige those two clever Ladies, by giving place to them as foon as we can.

YOU Sor

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GUSTAVUS.

They were both Women of a peculiar Genius, and fain would I overhear their Dialogue; for I doubt not it would be as comical as

yours and mine are tragical.

I shall not therefore narrate my Story until thefe amazons have done; and I hope you will then begin at YORK, where you ftopt, and proceed to relate your unfuccessful Wars, and Treaties, and your unhappy Exit, most unworthy indeed of a Prince of your high Birth, and great Learning; tho no doubt your Memory is immortal in Great Britain and Ireland, while the Rumpers and Regici Des are mention'd with Disdain and Abhorrence, not there only, but even over all the Earth, where Levelling takes no place, and where the Persons of supreme Magistrates are duly rever'd and honour'd, or at least are not exposed to the Refentments of particular People, that arrogantly call themselves the Nation, when once they can exert a Military Force.

Therefore, with your Leave, I shall only order my Secretary to read the News brought by Mercury's last Pacquet, which I was perusing alone, when you first came into this Walk, and

Decretary.

ROME. Nov. 29. 1718. N. S. The Princefs Sobiesky, lately betrothed to the Chevalier de St. George, or pretended King of Great Britain, being detain'd at Inspruck on her Journey hither by the Emperor's Order, who regards not the Pope's Remonstrances, the faid Pretender is to be married to a great Fortune, the Count CAPRARA's only Daughter at Bologna; because the Pope has absolutely enjoin'd him to take a Wife.

CHARLES.

Oh! the unhappy Family of STUART! it feems this unfortunate exil'd Prince shall fare no better than his Royal Progenitors, most of whom dy'd in a mad, violent or miserable manner.

GUSTAVUS.

Son JAMES; after the People of Great Britain of AUSTRIA. have abjur'd him, and after most of the European Powers, nay, even the Emperor (who is of the fame Religion) have difregarded him as an Impostor.

CHARLES.

Alas! my dear Gultabus, you have heard the People of Great Britain don't value Pretensions to Legitimacy and bereditary Right, and have, by an Act of Parliament, excluded all my numerous Royal Progeny from the Throne, and all avowed Papists for ever. They have created the ELECTOR of HANOVER their King, the Grandson of my Sifter the Queen of BOHEMIA, upon whose Family they have entail'd their Crown. Indeed I own I cannot at this Distance account for the Pretender's Legitimacy; yet by what has been reported of it in Elyfium, I have long'd to fee Father PETERS to ask of him the true and circumftantial Account of his Birth. But either those political Divines have another Apartment affign'd them in the Begions of the Dead, or are not so forward to converse with great Men here as in the Land of the Living; for I could never fee him.

Decretary.

LEGHORN. General Stampa is order'd by the Emperor to lay the Italian PRINCES and States under Contribution, for supporting his Army marching towards Sicily; viz. our Great Duke of Toscany must pay 60000 Spanish Pistoles, Genoa the same Sum, PARMA 40000, MODENA 20000, and Lucca 4000; under the Pain of Military Execution; unless they will redeem it, either by double the Sum in the Way of a Free Gift, or allow his Troops free Quarters in their Dominions; for which end the Emperor has wrote to them a Fine Letter in Fine Latin.

GUSTAVUS.

I believe they would have lik'd better plain his Minority. German Latin with less Demands; but let the lazy rich Italians Puries feel the Weight of War, as well as other Nations; the Duke of Toscany can well spare it, after a Peace of 40 Years, and Parma must pay something for being related to Philip V. All the World must suffer in their Turns.

Decretary.

of being King of SARDINIA instead of bim; tho' I believe he will be sooner fet at L SICILY, which he has notify'd to all foreign berty, and have leave quickly to de Ministers; and will send Count M AFF y as the and compare Notes with his Const III. Interviews.

Sardinian Embassadour to England. He is also I wonder you esteem this Pretender to be augmenting his Troops with 10000 Men, to your Grandson, or the legitimate Son of your carry on some important Design for the House

CHARLES.

I perceive VICTOR AMADEUS, Duke of Savoy, has never been constant and firm to his Allies; but, mov'd by his own Views, has either forfaken them, or play'd the Trimmer; as now Spain has paid him in his own Coin; of which he cannot decently complain, but patiently accept of an V instead of an X, or of poor Sardinia instead of rich and fair Sicily, the Granary of Italy; for which he must also depend upon the Friendship of the Emperor and Great Britain.

Decretary.

PARIS. Friday 9th of December, N. S. Count LEBLANC, and the Abbot Du Bois, with a Party of Soldiers, arrested the Spanish Envoy the Prince de CELLA MARE, feal'd his Cabi net and a Cheft of Letters with his own and the Regent's Seals; and notify'd next Day to all foreign Ministers, that it was for a dangerous Conspiracy against this Kingdom, which we accidently discover'd by some People's opening the Letters of the Abbot PORTO CARERO who had been incognito with the Marquis de MONTE LEONE in England) which they took for Bank Notes; and perceiving the Conspiracy, laid them before the Government. There is a Lift found of 60 Lords engag'd in this Plot; and the two Ringleaders, the Marquis de Pompadour, and Monsieur de St. Genie, are inprison'd in the Bastile. Several Egclesiasticks ate. deeply concern'd in this wicked Contrivance, and also the Emissaries of the English Pretender at the Court of Spain, which Court has rejected all Proposals of an Accommodation with the Emperor, that have been fent from England or France, with a View to establish the Succession of their King PHILIP to the Crown of France, in case our young King should die in

CHARLES.

Envoys now, it feems, exceed the Limits of their Commissions; so that they cannot be allow'd always the ancient Privileges of Foreign MINISTERS; tho of old the arrefting to an Envoy was deem'd a very great Violation of publick Honour; but now it is more common; and Cellamare had an Instance of it in the Ar-TURIN. Our Sovereign has at last accepted rest of Count Byllenberg at London to warn

Name plotted to set Philip upon the Spanish Throne.

GUSTAVUS.

I wonder the Popish Clergy will persist in contriving, and executing the basest Treasons, as they us'd to do in former Times; tho' they call themselves Ghostly Persons, and by their Office they should, of all Men, keep their Consciences cleanest, and not imbrue their facred Hands in worldly Projects and Practices. But the People being generally superstitious, suppose them to be more holy and honest than other Men; and the Glergy have got the Ascendant over most Men by Auricular Confession; and other Crafts: Nay, having obtain'd the Privilege of a separate Jurisdiction among themselves, none of them, tho' ever so guilty, need be afraid of the Secular Arm; and to be fure, they are not condignly punish'd by their dear and Reverend Brethren, who will not depretiate and proftitute their boly Orders, making publick Examples of Ecclesiastical VILLAINS, even tho' it is confonant to good Reason, that an immoral Clergyman, or one that plots against the State, should be openly fligmatiz'd, and more feverely punish'd than another Man. But it feems the Earthly Powers-will grow wifer in Time; for we have heard that this Emperor arraign'd a Priest of MILAN, Gio Battifta Berengario, for preaching Sermons against the Government, who, after being folemnly degraded from his Priefly Office, was beheaded at the Market-place by the common Executioner.

Decretary. Somerfet, according to the Judgment of the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, was pillory'd yesterday at Charing Cross, and to-day at the Royal Exchange in his Priestly Habit, with this

ALBERONI, the modern MAZARIN. But fined in 600 1. was condemn'd to be imprison'd it is not strange to find the Abbot PORTO four Years, and to find two good Sureties for his CARERO in this Plot; for a Cardinal of that good Behaviour during Life in the Penalty of 1000 1. each, and himself in 2000 1.

GUSTAVUS.

It feems the English Ecclesiasticks are as daring as those of Rome, tho' they have not the same separate Jurisdiction; yet are not dealt with by the Magistrate in fame manner: For the Priest of MILAN was first degraded. and then his Head was cut off. But Parson 15 -s retains his Orders, and was punish'd as an Ecclesiastick: And as foon as he can conform to the Sentence, he may perhaps fally forth with new Fireworks, and be more capable of Mifchief than before, as having been a Confessor for the Cause; for an Eng. h Man is naturally more obstinate and brave by Opposition, and not readily converted by and Imprisonment, &c.

CHARLES.

You know the Laws of England are not fo ffrict, nor so ffrictly executed as in other Parts; whereby rebellious Preachers have often escap'd the Gallows, when they have richly deferved it: For England has often experienc'd be dismal Effects of roaring, reftlels, ambit. bloodthirsty, insolent, rebellious Priests; such ere my worst Enemies; for, first, my own Laude in Clergy, by Flattery and vain Hopes, led me is I many Snares; until the Parliament and the all Degrees were incenfed against me for their Sakes: Next, the Puritan and Presbyterian Clergy did warmly oppose all my Measures, and excited the People to rife in Arms against me : And at last the Sectarian Preachers justled out the Others, London. 2d of December, O. S. Edward justify'd my Mur ber, and applauded every Action B-s Rector of St. George's in the County of of the Army, of the Rump, and of Cromwell I'm glad to hear my Grand Nephew King G E o will not be Priest-ridden, nor values any thing, while he and his Parliament harmoniously agree. But if the Parliament --- Hold! yonder Inscription over his Head; for Seditious and walk the two LADIES; let us go afide and Contonable Preaching! for which, and other overhear them, and when they are gone, we treasonable Expressions in Conversation, he was shall return and finish our History.

The End of the third Interview.



